CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY
CUH-H00524-167-Gs16/4
310
167

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1949

CONTENTS

PAGE

His Excellency the Chancellor's Speech at the Special Convocation i

University of Calcutta and Islamic Studies 1
Professor P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., LL.D.

The Maritime Peoples of Ancient India 7
Paresh Chandra Dasgupta

Keynesism, Capitalism and Socialism 15
Subhashchandra Ghosh, M.A.

The Doctrine of Lapse of Paramountcy—A Critic 29
C. T. Moitra, M.A.

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India—A Brief Critical Review of its Working 43
Dr. Saroj Kumar Basu, M.A., Ph.D.

Golden Thoughts from Goethe 51
Kshitish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., D.Litt.

Round the World 59

Reviews and Notices of Books 66

Ourselves 69

Notifications 71

The Pioneer House for quality cloth for Gents & Ladies
Woollen, Cotton, Silk, Viyella and Clydella
in various latest designs and shades.
We guarantee entire satisfaction.

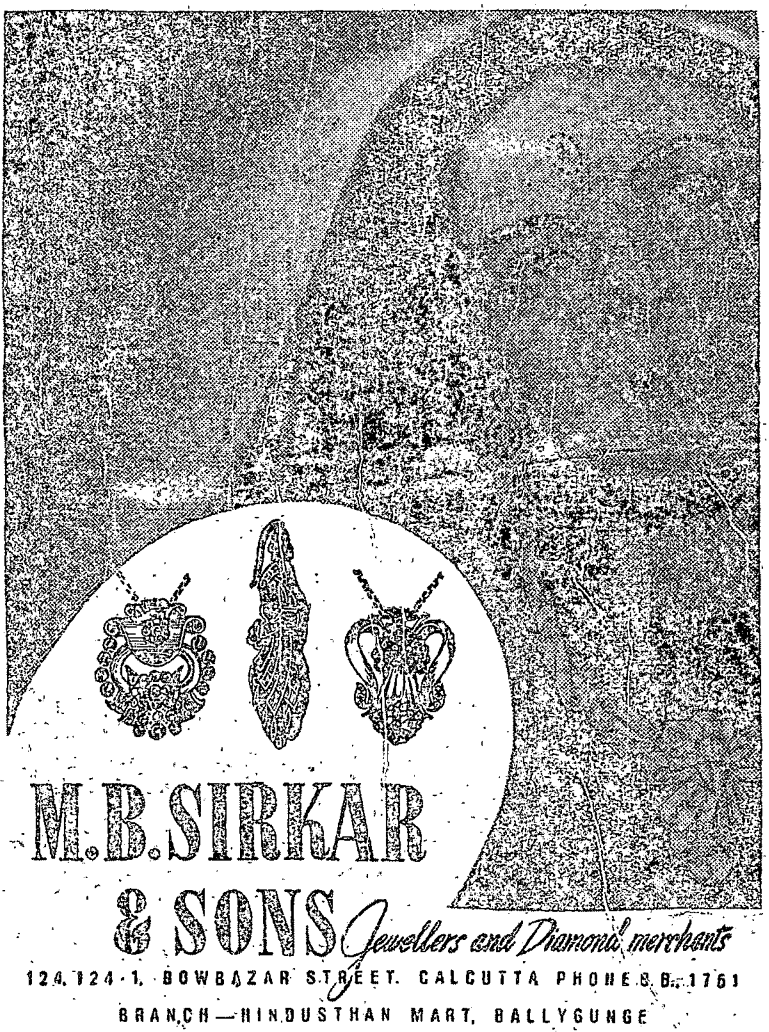
J. S. MOHAMEDALLY

Phone—CITY 1742 Telegram—SOFTWEAR

CLOTH MERCHANT

TOWER HOUSE : CHOWRINGHEE SQUARE : CALCUTTA

CRCU 343



M.B. SIRKAR
& SONS *Jewellers and Diamond merchants*
124, 124-1, BOWBAZAR STREET. CALCUTTA PHONE B.B. 1761
BRANCH—HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE

GS 1614

His Excellency the Chancellor's Speech at the Special Convocation of the Calcutta University held on 27th August, 1949.

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY:

We have met here this afternoon to honour a distinguished son and servant of the University. There have been in the past many distinguished Vice-Chancellors of this great University, and the name of the greatest of them all, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, almost instinctively comes to one's mind. But for all of them the service of the University has been, if I may use a colloquial expression, a hobby or a diversion in the main stream of their life. Some were distinguished Judges, others were eminent medical men, and yet others were distinguished in other fields of Government service, or in industry and finance. But none of them had devoted himself entirely with a single-minded devotion to the service of the University and through it to the cause of education in Bengal. To our present Vice-Chancellor the service of the University, in one form or other, has been but for a short break when he became a Minister of the Bengal Government, the main occupation, passion and devotion of a lifetime. It was nearly 32 years ago that this great educational career began and Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, as he then was, became at the age of 23 a lecturer in the Calcutta University. Two years later in 1919 he was elected by the registered graduates to the Senate of the University and in the same year he was elected by the Senate as a member of the Syndicate, and he has been a member of the Syndicate throughout the last 30 years. During this long period he has served the University in almost every capacity. He has been a lecturer or professor in History, Law and Politics and has been a member of various Boards and Faculties, and there has been no important committee with which he has not been connected and to whose deliberations he has not made important contribution. In the reorganisation of the Post-Graduate studies, for which the Calcutta University is justly famous throughout India, he has played a very notable part. As the Principal of the Law College he has moulded the career as jurists and practising lawyers of thousands of law students, and I am sure they feel indebted to him for the way in which he then introduced them to the great Science of Jurisprudence. It is not sufficiently realised that legal scholarship depends largely upon the way in which a beginner is led to enter the great temple of legal learning. To some, law appears a very dry subject, a bundle of bones "fagoted together as they fell". To others, more fortunate in their teachers, law appears as a living organism, fascinating in its study, with its foundation laid in bygone ages during the infancy of mankind itself. Students, who are so blessed, find in after-life their career as a legal practitioner not only as a means of honourable livelihood but also as one of the greatest intellectual pursuits open to civilised men, and I am sure it will be said of our Vice-Chancellor that he was a teacher of law, who made law appear as something full of life and vitality, growing from stage to stage with the advance of civilisation itself. Dr. Banerjee has come to occupy a distinguished place in the realm of education, not only in Bengal but throughout India. He has represented his own University in all-India Councils. He has been a member of the Inter-Universities Board and he has represented the Indian Universities in distinguished conferences abroad many times. It was only two months ago that he went to Canada as a representative of all the Universities in India and was honoured by the McGill University of Canada by the conferment of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

He has been the Vice-Chancellor of the University for the last three years—a period which indeed was critical in the history of the University. The Calcutta University has been now for nearly a century the greatest University of India. The Punjab, Allahabad and Patna Universities are its daughters. Even after these daughters, like the way of all daughters, left their parental abodes and made homes of their own, the mother continued to exercise sway over vast multitudes of children. Yet more separations were to come. First Orissa went, and then came under tragic circumstances, the partition of the home itself and East Bengal was deprived of the tender care of this great alma mater. This was followed by the separation of Assam.

The last three years have been of the greatest stress and anxiety in the history of this University. And we owe it to our Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues on the Syndicate for weathering the storm with such skill. They have saved the stately ship of the University from foundering on the rocks.

The Calcutta University, no matter what its territorial jurisdiction may be, shall, for generations to come, continue to occupy in the realm of learning in India a very honoured place and to attract to its portals the most gifted of Indian youth for training in research and scholarship. To me it is a matter of personal satisfaction that both the Central and Provincial Governments are fully aware of the high place which this University occupies in our national economy, and I am sure, both Governments will always be ready to assist and encourage the University to develop and expand the sphere of its beneficent activities in the cause of science. Early this week was presented by Dr. Radhakrishnan to the Central Government a report on behalf of the most distinguished University Commission ever appointed in India and that report may well prove to be a great landmark in the history of higher education in India. A comprehensive examination of the recommendations made in this great report would call for strenuous and skilled work on the part of the Indian Universities as well as Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces. I feel confident that in the performance of this great task the Calcutta University will, as ever, take a prominent part, and it is our good fortune that at this juncture in the discharge of its duties all the administrative experience and talents of our Vice-Chancellor will be available to the University. I am sure that in building the structure which will arise upon the recommendations of this Universities Commission Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee will prove himself an architect of great ability as well as imagination.

I have now the greatest pleasure on behalf of the University, in conferring on Dr. Banerjee the degree of Doctor of Literature, honoris causa, and wish him a long happy life and a career of great public usefulness.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1949

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA AND ISLAMIC STUDIES*

Professor P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., LL.D.,
Barrister-at-Law

Vice-Chancellor

The Battle of Plassy in 1757 marked the loss of Bengal to Muslim rulers. The administration of the province passed into the hands of the East India Company which had started its career in England in the closing years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The University of Calcutta was founded by the British rulers of India exactly a century later—on the 24th of January, 1857. It was founded at a time when the conflagration caused by the Sepoy Mutiny was at its height. The Universities in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were also founded in the same year. Calcutta was then the political and the commercial capital of India.

The University of Calcutta started its career as a purely examining body on the model of the then University of London. Its jurisdiction extended for years over the undivided Punjab, the U.P., the C.P., Bihar, undivided Bengal, Assam, Orissa, and Burma, *i.e.* pratically the whole of Northern India and Burma. For a time it exercised its sway even over Hyderabad and Ceylon. After the conquest of the Punjab by the British the provinces in India settled down to a peaceful and progressive life and it was inevitable that universities would be started in other parts of the country and actually many daughters were born to the University of Calcutta. Today two Universities in

---

* Broadcast to Iran and other Middle Eastern countries on 11th August by All-India Radio.

Pakistan and twelve Universities in the other parts of the Indian Union are the lineal descendants of Calcutta. Originally these institutions were without the functions of teaching and research. The passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904 under the auspices of Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India and Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, removed the handicap and sowed the seeds of the future Post-graduate departments of study and research in Calcutta.

For more than one hundred and twenty-five years the Muslim scholars in India were slow to receive the benefits of an occidental system of learning. Notwithstanding the fact that the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta extended over a large part of India inhabited by Muslim scholars with century-old tradition and culture of their own, the study of Arabic and Persian did not receive that amount of encouragement or that amount of accession of strength which was their due. The first candidate who took the Master's degree in Arabic from the University of Calcutta, took it in 1871 more than a decade and a half after the establishment of the University. It was not again till 1877 that a candidate took for the first time the Master's degree of this University in Persian. From 1871 to 1911, the University of Calcutta could produce only seventeen graduates with Master's degree in Arabic and fortythree graduates with Master's degree in Persian. Of these, four were Hindus. Under the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the architect of the University of Calcutta as we know it now and the founder of the departments of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science (1917), new stimulus was given to Arabic and Persian studies. Calcutta then realised fully that Arabic and Persian are like two great streams of culture. They take their rise from two different sources but unite and flow together over a long distance. They then separate from each other, retaining no doubt mutual contact but not losing separate identity and integrity. In the land of sacred rivers in Hindusthan do they not resemble the Ganges and the Jumna down Allahabad, or the mighty streams known as the Padma and Meghna in lower Bengal now called Eastern Pakistan? As is well known, the great book of Revelations, the Holy Quran, gave birth to Arabic literature. That great book has produced civilizations which have shaken the life and culture of nations and given inspiration and solace to millions of men.

That Holy Book gave rise to and was followed by Hadith, Fiqh, Tafsir and 'Ilmul-Kalam. They constituted one of the vast literatures of the civilized world. They include within their womb jurisprudence,

GS 1614

commentaries, theology. From them descended Arabic poetry, philosophy, history, sciences, mathematics, grammar, logic, rhetoric, medicine.

Shortly after the demise of the Prophet, Iran—the home of ancient Persian—was conquered by the Arabs under Omar and Islamic literature in Arabic, including the Holy Quran, was now carried to that country. This impact of Islam on the civilisation and culture of Iran proved productive. No more proof is necessary than what is provided by the Shahnameh of Firdausi which dazzled the world. The tales in the Arabian Nights cast a blaze of delight and pleasure over the whole of this civilized world. This is not to minimise the achievements of pre-Islamic Iran which gave to the world the literature of the Zoroastrians—the Zenda Vesta. That great and holy book represents one of the oldest written records of the world. Its language is the language of the Indo-European race. It serves as a connecting link between the ancient civilizations of Iran and India which raised their heads through the mist of centuries. Students of comparative religion and comparative theology are busy establishing close relationship between the religion of the Vedas of the ancient Hindus and that of the Vesta of the Zoroastrians. The empire of the Achaemenians and of the Mauryas touched and retouched the boundaries of the ancient civilizations of India and Iran. The Achaemenians fell, they fell for ever. The Greeks who came to India fell, and fell for ever. The Mauryas could not stand the whirlgig of time. They also fell. Yet India absorbed the best elements from the civilizations of Iran and of outer Hellas.

With the invasion and conquest of India by the Muslims, Islam found its way into Hindusthan and Arabic and Persian now flourished in this country as languages and literatures. They lived side by side with Sanskrit, the ancient language of Hindusthan. The influence of both Arabic and Persian on the development of the vernacular literatures of India was considerable. Urdu owes a great deal to Persian diction and syntax, vocabulary and ornate style. Many historical works written in Persian have served Hindusthan as indispensable sources of history. Just as many Arabic and Persian works were translated into Urdu so many Sanskrit books were translated into Arabic and Persian. The action and reaction between Islam and Hinduism produced a synthesis, leaving an indeliable mark on the art, the architecture, painting, music, religion, social customs, languages and literatures of India. One of the best lexicons of the Persian language was written by Teckchand Bahar, a Hindu.

The Post-graduate depatments of studies in the University of Calcutta now include advanced study and rasearch in Arabic, Persian, Islamic History and Culture. The M.A. course in Arabic deals with (*a*) Literature, (*b*) History, (*c*) the Holy Quran, (*d*) the Hadith, (*e*) the 'Ilmul-Kalam and Philosophy, (*f*) Philology and grammar. The M.A. course in Persian includes subjects like (*a*) Literature, (*b*) and (*c*) Historical literature including Historical Literature of India, (*d*) Philosophy and Mysticism and (*e*) Philology. The course in Islamic History and Culture is indeed an ambitious one. It has an area in the field of scholarship greater than the area covered by the University of Aligarh and the Osmania University of Hyderabad in India, whose professed objects were the advancement of Islamic learning and study.

Last year the University of Calcutta budgeted the sum of Rs. 38,640 for the department of Arabic and Persian, and Rs. 48,600 for the department of Islamic History and Culture. The department of Islamic History and Culture is a sister department to the department of Ancient Indian History and culture in the curriculum of studies for the Bachelor's and the Master's degree examinations of the University of Calcutta. The number of teachers and students attached to the department of Arabic and Persian is 9 and 5. The number of teachers and students attached to the department of Islamic History and Culture is 8 and 19.

With a view to increase the teaching efficiency of these departments the University of Calcutta sent Dr. Ishaque, one of its teachers, to London, for higher studies in Persian. He was sent out on the Rashbehari Ghosh Travelling Fellowship, a Fellowship founded by one of the greatest of Hindu jurists, lawyers and scholars in India. The Ministry of Education to the Government of Iran extended an invitation to Dr. Ishaque to go to Iran, and he was awarded by the Government of Iran a medal by way of appreciation of his work "Sukhanvaran-i-Iran" a work on modern Persian poetry. In 1942 a Muslim scholar founded the Abdul Halim Travelling Fellowship for higher studies in Iran. This year the scholarship has gone to a Muslim gentleman Mr. Ata Karim Burke. For the purpose of encouraging research a number of gold medals and fellowships have been endowed by generous donors *e.g.* (1) the Zainul Abedin Gold Medal, (2) Khujasta Akhther Banu Suharawardy Gold Medal, (3) Sir Hassan Suhrawardy Fellowship. For the purpose of establishing and maintaining contact with Iran, Dr. Ishaque was mainly instrumental in founding the Iran Society in 1944. The Society functions under reputed scholars in Calcutta—both Hindu and Muslim. It has a quarterly organ called the "Indo-Iranica". In December, 1949 the Society purposes to celebrate the Al-Biruni Millenary Celebrations. An Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume consisting of articles by eminent scholars will be published by the Society. The Government of India, in its Ministry of Education, have agreed to purchase two hudred copies at Rs. 20 per volume.

The University of Calcutta is not content merely with encouraging advanced studies in Islamic subjects. It has Post-graduate departments of studies and research in other oriental subjects like Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit. The expression Sanskrit indeed covers an empire of thought. The University of Calcutta teaches up to the Post-graduate stage the following subjects (1) English Language and Literature, (2) French, (3) Modorn Indian Language, (4) Sanskrit, (5) Pali, (6) Arabic, (7) Persian, (8) Ancient Indian History and culture, (9) Philosophy, Islamic History and Culture, (10) General History, (11) Economics, (12) Political Science (13) Comparative Philology, (14) Experimental Psychology, (15) Anthropology, (16) Statistics, (17) Mathematics, (Applied and Pure) (18) Physics (pure and Applied) including Nuclear Physics, Radio Physics and Electronics, (19) Zoology, (20) Botany, (21) Physiology, (22) Geology, (23) Geography, (24) Geophysics, (25) Agriculture and Horticulture, (26) Commerce, (27) Chemistry (Pure and Applied).

The total budgeted expenditure of the University of Calcutta for Post-graduate study and Research is Rs. 2,11,700 (in pound sterling £1,500), The University of Calcutta is the oldest, the biggest and the greatest University in the sub-continent of India. To it are attached, even today, eighty-eight colleges in the Faculties of Arts and Science, Medicine, Engineering, Law, Agriculture, and more than twelve hundred secondary high schools. The destiny of the secondary high schools which have flourished under the supervision of the Universty of Calcutta for nearly a century is now settled. They will be placed under the charge of another organisation to be called the Secondary Board of Education. The total number of students studying under the University of Calcutta in its Post-graduate departments is 1600. The total number of students now studying in Colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta in the post Matriculation stage is about 60,000. The University of Calcutta has three important functions: (1) It is a teaching and research institute. As such, it is of a unitary character. Teaching and reseach are concentrated in the city of Calcutta. (2) As a federal University it influences twenty-five million human souls within the province of West-Bengal, exercising jurisdiction over eighty-eight affiliated colleges in the six faculties mentioned above. (3) It is the biggest examining body in the whole of the world. Last year it examined 80,000 students in over 30 different kinds of examinations.

The University of Calcutta stands today at the confluence of two great civilisations—(*i*) the ancient Indian civilization embracing within its fold the whole of Northern India, Burma, Ceylon and South-Eastern Asia and based on Sanskrit language and literature and Pali language and literature and (*ii*) the other civilization looking westward across rivers and valleys, deserts and mountains, and embracing great civilisation of the Middle East based on Arabic and Persian supported by Islam some times characterised as the great religion of the golden sands. The University of Calcutta in the future will live for the ideal that the two streams of civilization may flow side by side so that their cultures mingle in the eternal ocean of humanity.

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

I

From time immemorial, the foot-prints of many foreign peoples have been imprinted upon the soil of India, whose natural geographical position always facilitated the maritime and the commercial activity of the inhabitants of the coastal regions. It is sure that the Khyber pass and the other North-Western defiles were not the only routes through which the prospector nomadic races of outside tried to penetrate into India. Numerous races and tribes with definite ethnic peculiarities bearing culture, civilisation or the reverse entered into the heart of the country through the North-East and by the sea which washes its shores.

Now, our discussion about the sea-going activity of the ancient Indians will surely be incomplete if we do not try to have a clearer perspective about the maritime origin of certain nationals of ancient India who flourished at the dawn of human civilisation.

It will be perhaps very unscientific to hold that the primitive men of the Gondowanaland had courage or means to fare upon the Tethys Sea in order to reach the mysterious geological area of Angaraland in any pre-Glacier age. In the same manner we cannot argue that the Sivapithacus men could sail upon the so-called Rajputana sea. We should only try to draw scientifically our information on the subject from the palaeolithic age down to the early mediaeval age when the Arab sailors, the prototypes of Sindabad of their tales began to swarm into the western sea-board of India and push their prosylitising activities into the heart of the country, the memories of which are vividly preserved in the Hānsoṭ and the Nāosāri plates.

THE MARITIME PEOPLES FROM THE EAST

(1) *The Negritoes*:

According to R. D. Banerji[1] and some other scholars, the oldest people of India were the inhabitants of the Andaman islands, who belong to the Negrito branch of the Negro race. Now the main line of these black races "stretches along the hot and fertile regions of the equator from Guinea in West Africa to that great island of the Eastern archipelago which has its name of New Guinea from its Negro-like natives." The association of the Negritoes also with Melanesia, Polynesia, Australia, the Phillipines and Tasmania probably show that the barbarians were more or less a sea-loving people.[1] After studying the shapes of their stone-weapons archaeologists opine that, they first flourished in the Palaeolithic age. The presence of the Negritoes in some eastern corners of India may suggest their migration in India from the East in the pre-historic age. However, the sea-faring peoples of the East who definitely came in close contact with India in the later days, were the Austrics, the Malayese and the Chinese.

---

[1] Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India, Chap. 11, pp. 6-7.

(2) *The Austrics*:

It is generally held by scholars that India after the early Palaeolithic age came in contact with the Great Oceanian race who spread all over the South Pacific world, probably also including the Yucatan peninsula and Peru, the pre-historic hotbeds of the Maya and the Inka civilisations.[2] We use term "Oceanian" because there are distinct proofs, archaeological, philological, botanical and traditional about the fact that, once there was a great people, probably in the Neolithic age, who swooped the Pacific and the Indian Oceans in their diffusion of a peculiar type of culture as whose witnesses still many solitary archaic megaliths and statues stand in many islands. Perry has much discussed about this theme by correlating much evidences about this subject which will help us to have a right perspective.

Before entering into minute details, we should first consider the exact significance of the term "Oceania." Roughly, by this term the ocean-area and the islands of the south-west Pacific are meant. Again, this continent of scattered isles is broadly divided into several parts, *viz.*, Polynesia, Melanesia,[3] Michronesia, Netherlands Indies

---

[1] The Negritoes were a fish-eating race and so were called Icthyophagoi, *i.e.*, fish-eaters by the Greeks.

[2] Perry—The Children of the Sun, p. 37.
Anne Terry White—Lost Worlds, Part IV.
Levi—Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.
Diego De Landa—Accounts of Things in Yucatan.
Kean—Man, Past and Present, pp. 145-59.
K. D. Nag—India and the Pacific World.

[3] "Melanesia" (black islands) is named after her present black inhabitants.

(Indonesia), Australia, and New-Zealand. "The historic line dividing Melanesia and Polynesia in the Tropical South Pacific is drawn between the Fijis and Samas."[1] Michronesia is a group of very small islands (composed of Greek word "Michro," small, and "Nesos," islands) which lie to the North of the New-Guinea. Here we need not discuss about the location of too well-known island-continent Australia, her neighbouring islands of New-Zealand and the Phillipines.

Melanesia consists of the islands of New-Guinea, New-Britain, Bismarck archipelago, Solomon islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty islands and Fiji islands.

Polynesia consists of Tonga islands, Samoa, Phoenix islands, Cook islands, Hawaiian islands, Tuamotu and Easter island.

The Indonesian islands embrace Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Timor, Lesser Sunda islands and Spice islands or Moluccus. *Micronesia* consists of Palan islands, Caroline isles, Marianas islands, Gilbert islands and Ellice islands.

The Phillipines are formed by the remarkable islands of Luzon, Cebu, Mindanao, etc.

The geological structure of the Pacific world is also very interesting from anthropological as well as geographical points of view. A very brief discussion of this will perhaps help us in determining the complicated problems of a great race-movement which might have taken place in the forgotten days of the remote past.

The central and eastern Pacific islands are mainly of volcanic origin, the reminiscences of which are still preserved in the frequent awakenings of the active volcanoes in the Hawaii and Galapagos Islands. "The islands of the western basin have a much more complicated structure and history, representing the exposed crests of upfolds of the earth's crust lying in a series of long arcs". Thus, a single mountain chain is visible in Burma, Sumatra, Java, Moluccus and also probably in the Phillipines. Borneo, Sumatra and Java might have been parts of Asia even up to one millenium B. C.

Except the volcanic islands, there are many coral islands, reefs and atolls which have all the more made the Pacific attractive to the students of Geology and Geography. Here, we cannot stop mentioning the "Great Barrier Reef" which is 1260 miles in length.

Now, the valuable and important traces of the archaic civilisation in Oceania, have been discovered in the Easter island, Necker islands, Samoa, Pitcairn island,[1] Penhryn islands, New-Zealand etc.

---

[1] F. Osborn—"The Pacific World," p. 125.

In the Easter island (E. Pacific) massive stone-terraces and huge rock-cut statues[2] representing the upper portion of human figure[3] are found. Human faces curved upon rocks are also found. The human figures are erected upon pyramidal platforms. That once a civilised people inhabited that island is also proved by the fact that the actual remains of irrigation too, have been traced. In the Pitcairn island a stone temple was found. In the 18th century captain Cook saw a pyramidal structure in Tahiti. In Samoa there is a monument called Pa-le-o-le-fe's. Except these in New Hebrides and Solomons also similar archaic relics have been found. Now. F. W. Osborn has made a very interesting remark upon the character of the early people of Polynesia, about whose pre-historic association with India we will discuss at present.. He says (The Pacific world, p. 125) "The Polynesians who became the first inhabitants at these remote ocean-islands came to them over uncharted seas centuries before the explorations of the Vikings or Columbus. Their long and daring voyages in primitive boats guided by the stars mark them among the first and probably the greatest of the world's oceanic explorers".

Now, on Linguistic and Archaeological grounds scholars think that the Austrics were to a great extent responsible for the growth of this archaic civilisation which attained a high place in the primitive the then advanced world to which belonged Egypt, Crete and the Yucatan peninsula in America—the latter being the cradle of the Maya civilisation. It is also, really very interesting to note that in the dawn of civilisation and long before the coming of the Dravidians in India, the Austrics populated the country. Thus, Thurston points out in his "Madras Presidency" (pp. 624-25) "It is the Pre-Dravidian aborigines and not the later and more cultured Dravidians who must be regarded as the primitive existing race . . . There are strong grounds for the belief that the Pre-Dravidians are ethnically related to the Veddas of Ceylon, the Tolas of Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra and possibly the Australians." Thus, Pre-Dravidians were no doubt the Austrics, who it has been proved spread their Neolitic culture[1] in Oceania and India. Late Prof. Sylvian Levi and some other scholars generally agree in the hypothesis of inter-connection between the primitive civilisation of India and that of Polynesia[2]. However, the early link between India and Oceania is also probably proved by the current researches of many Europeon and Indian scholars[3], who see great similiarity between the "pictograms of the Mohen-Zo-Doro and Harappa seals on the one hand and the figures in the Easter island wooden tablets on the other"[4]. Such results are also said to have been gathered in the course of the Indo-Chinese studies. Victor Goloubew has pointed to a human image wearing the same type of shawl which is worn by the Mohen-Zo-Doro statue of the supposed priest or Yogi[5]. Now, the total upshot of our discussion is this that the seafaring Austrics once came in India[6] and left generations of civilised navigating peoples particularly in the eastern part of the country for posterity. Of course we know very little about their sea-faring activities. In this point, we should remind the words of Prof. Rapson (Cambridge History of India, Vol. I., pp. 48-49) that "the Austric languages which still flourish in Annam and Cambodia, remain in India and Burma as islands of speech to preserve the record of a far distant period when Northern India (possibly Southern India also) and Further India belonged to the same linguistic area. And there is some evidence that, they shared the same culture in Neolithic times"[7]. Probably, it will not be very unreasonable to hold that the ethnic groups of the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Pundras, Suhmas and the Kaliṅgas had much Austrics elements among them. The tribes, except the Pundras and the Aṅgas were much distinguished for their sea-faring activities. Due to many important reasons Pargiter thought that, the Five tribes came in East India through the sea and ultimately culturally collisioned with the Vedic Aryans in the Magadhan regions.[1] Although, the suggestions of Pargiter have been much criticised,[2] no body can ever doubt about the conspicuous parts which were played by these peoples in the works of colonising and spreading Indian culture in the over-seas. Their activities in this sphere all the more convince us about their supposed descent from the great people of the Pacific, who spread the Oceanian civilisation in the Neolithic age.

---

[1] Edward Samuel "Three thousand miles from anywhere" (The Wide World Magazine, February, 1943, p. 256). He notes that in the Bounty Bay may be seen very rude imagery of the type that forms, such a mysterious feature of Easter islands. Although extremely rough, the figures are very similar, and probably carved by the same lost race, of whom we have no record. The author also, marked strange hieroglyphics in the island.

[2] Generally 3 feet to 30 feet high.

[3] It is curious to note in this connection that on some early Indian Punch-marked coins upper portion of human figures are represented. See, Allan, "Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India," also, Dr J. N. Banerji, "The development of the Hindu Iconography".

---

[1] Marthall—The Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, Chap. XXVI, p. 613. That the culture was Neolithic is based upon the evidence of the "chiselshaped high-shouldered cells which are discovered in the regions where the Austric languages (Munda, Khasi, Mon-Khmer etc.) still survive.

[2] S. K. Chatterji—J. D. L., Vol. XXIX, pp. 19-20; also see, Prof. Mitra in J. D. L., Vol. 1. No. 10, "A Vedic night of the moon from Polynesia".

[3] Prof. Baron Von and Heine Geldern is one of them.

[4] S. K. Chatterji—J. D. L., XXIX, p. 19.

[5] S. C. Kala—Sunday "Amritabazar Patrika", 2/3/'47.

[6] Whether they had anything to do with the Mohen-Zo-Doro or Harappa civilisations is, however a matter of hard discussion.

[7] Marshall—Cambridge history of India, Vol. 1, Chap. XXVI., p. 613. Perry—Children of the Sun, p. 90: for the distribution of the archaic megaliths in Manbhum (Bengal).—*Ibid* p. 90 and Col. Shakespeare, "The Lushai Kuki clans" London, 1912; for the ruins of the vanished civilisation in Assam.

THE MALAYS

The maritime activities of the Malays in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans in the early days were perhaps, the most interesting phase in the epoch of long marine movements of the Austrics. The name Malaya-Malava occurs in variation in the East-Indies, India and the Madagascar. When Alexander in the 4th century B.C. invaded India, he was resisted by the Malloi tribe from whom he got a serious arrow-injury in course of a hand-to-hand fight. The Mallois possibly lived in the Punjab. The coins of the Mālavas also, have been discovered at Nāgari in the Jaipur state. On the obverse occur the names of the so-called names of the chieftains (Jamaku, Mogaja etc.), and on the reverse the inscription "Mālavānām jayaḥ" *i.e.*, the victory of the Mālavas. The name of the Vikrama era is associated with the era of the Mālava gaṇa (Mālava republic). H. Tsang, who went to the southern India in the seventh century A.D. mentioned a country called Mo-lo-kuta (Malayakoṭi ?). In the Puranas a "kula-Parvata" (clan-mountain) is named Malaya. The name occurs in an inscription of Ksaharāta Usabhadatta, son-in-law of great Nahapāna, in the Nāsik Praśaśti of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇī and in the Mṛcchakaṭika to denote particular tribe, mountain or country. The western coast of India is still called as Mālābār. Near it there is a group of petty islands called Māldvīp. In Ceylon there is a mountain called Malava. The ancient name of distant Madagascar near the shores of South-Eastern Africa was Malay.

---

[1] J. R. A. S. 1908, pp. 851-853.
J. A. S. B. 1897, Vol. I, p. 85.
B. C. Sen—Some aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 9 10.

[2] S. K. Chatterji—Modern Review, 1924, pp. 675-76.
R. D. Banerji—Pre-historic ancient and Hindu India, Chap. 11, pp. 12-13.

Similarly, in the Far-East also, we see this name to designate different regions and tribes. Among them the peninsula of Malay and the Molucca islands are very notable. The peculiar dispersal of this term has been remarkably summed up by R. C. Mazumdar (Suvarnadvīpa, p. 22) in the following lines " While the Malava and Malaya can thus, be traced as tribal or geographical names all over India up to its North-Western, Eastern and Southern extremeties, the spread of this name across the sea is no less conspicuous. On the East, the famous Malays of Malayasia, the place-names Malay and Malacca and in the peninsula Malayu in Sumatra, Mala or Malava for Laos and perhaps, even Molucca islands in the eastern extremity of the archipelago and on the west Maldives (Maldvipa), and Malay, the ancient name of Madagascar testify to the spread of the name in Indo-China and along the whole range of the southern ocean." Now, according to the great scholars the Malays were a branch of the Austric people whose diffusion of culture and civilisation in Oceania and India has already been discussed. He bases his conclusion upon the non-Aryan and non-Dravidian phonetics of the peculiar names of the so-called anonymous chiefs which occur on the obverse of the Malava coins *viz.*, Paya, M-Paya, Ja-Ma-Paya, Gajava, Mogajava, etc. Majumdar and Gerini hold that the Malays originated in India whence they migrated in the different continents, islands and archipelagoes of the southern oceans. Thus, he says (Suvarnadvipa, p. 24) "...the Malava of India may be looked upon as the parent stock of the Malays who played such a leading part in Malayasia." [1]

Regarding the course of the Malayese migrations he upholds the suggestions of Shmidt, Levi and Hutton which presuppcses " a stream of migration of Indian peoples towards the East and South-East to Assam, Burma, Indo-China and Malay archipelago both by land and sea." He thinks that the Malavas took the same route " as we can trace them from the Punjab to Assam on the one side and to Malabar on the other." From India they migrated up to Malayasia in the East and up to Madagascar in the West.

Now, the idea of the Indian cradle of the Malays is not supported by Hornell who finds out a strong Polynesian influence on the Pre-Dravidian population of South India. He further thinks that " a wave of Malayan immigration must have arrived later, after the entrance of the Dravidians on the scene, and it was a Malayan people who brought from the Malay archipelago the cultivation of the cocopalm."

---

[1] For the opinions of Gerini, see " Researches on Ptolemy's geography of Eastern Asia," pp. 101ff.

The suggestion of Majumdar that, India was the common centre of the Malays is marked with too scholastic ingenuity and perhaps, cannot be reasonably endorsed. Even if we admit the truthfulness of his philological process, *i.e.*, the study of the dispersal of the name Malay-Malava in a large portion of the Southern Hemisphere, we can hardly support his contention on the ground that nothing positive evidence is obtainable in support of it. On the other hand the names of Malay-balay in the Philippines (8-2 N, 125-8E), Malaita in the Solomons (9 S, 160-30E) and Mala cape in Panama 7-24 N, 80W may indirectly support the theory of Hornell. Perhaps, it is not too, entirely wrong to presume that the Malays like the earlier Austrics hailed from Oceania and thus, represented the later waves of the Austric immigration.

KEYNESISM, CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

SUBHASHCHANDRA GHOSH, M.A.

Patna College

Even as late as 1929 economists—barring a few who were branded as heretics or wrong-headed thinkers—did not find anything seriously wrong with capitalism. Though they were disturbed over the persistence of unemployment and recurrence of depression, capitalism did not come up for any criticism, not even for a serious examination. For, unemployment and depression, according to the economists, were due not to forces inherent in capitalism, but to extraneous factors—labour immobility and monetary mismanagement respectively. Therefore, only intelligent organisation of the labour-market and regulation of the banking system, they said, were necessary to cure unemployment and depression and stabilise capitalism on a high level of employment and prosperity. If, in case, these steps failed to bring about absorption of labour and revival of business, it was, the economists pointed out, the recalcitrance of the workers—their refusal to move where they were wanted and to accept lower wages—that had to be fought down. The ability of capitalism itself to remain stable and provide work for all was not questioned by the economists.

It was the Great Depression of 1929—unprecedented in its violence and magnitude—which convinced the economists that their understanding of capitalism was utterly imperfect and their prescriptions faulty. Efforts were, therefore, made by the economists during the early thirties to discover the causes of depression and consequent unemployment. And it was at that time that the late Lord Keynes (then John Maynard Keynes) discovered in a capitalist economy the existence of basic, "involuntary" unemployment—the unmistakable sign of chronic depression. As the result of this discovery cyclical depression became just an aggravation of chronic depression, and actual unemployment turned out to be chronic and inevitable—something more than structural and cyclical.

Eventually in 1936 Keynes not only admitted the failure of capitalism to provide for full employment as its outstanding fault.[1]

---

[1] General Theory, 372.

He broke away from the economics of Marshall, Edgeworth and Pigou in which he himself had been trained. For, based as it is on Say's Law of Market that "supply creates its own demand", it recognises no obstacle to full employment,[1] and teaches that unemployment, if it is not frictional, is due at bottom to a refusal by the unemployed labourers to accept a reward which corresponds to their marginal productivity[2]. Admittedly more realistic an economist than his teachers and contemporaries, Keynes found that "more labour would, as a rule, be forthcoming at the prevailing money-wage, if it were demanded"[3].

Keynes' *magnum opus—The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money*—not only embodies a polemic of the basic assumptions of the traditional theory of employment. It also indicates the barriers which have to be overcome, if involuntary unemployment is to be liquidated and full employment finally attained. In effect, the publication of the book in 1936 led to the emergence of a new system of economic thought, known all the world over as Keynesism.

The central idea of Keynesism is that employment depends upon expenditure on consumption and investment; and involuntary unemployment, according to it, persists in a capitalist economy, because of high propensity to save and weak inducement to invest. Any policy for attaining full employment—the ultimate goal of Keynesism—to be successful must, therefore, aim at the removal of the two barriers—high propensity to save and weak inducement to invest. Keynesism rejects the traditional prescription of wage-reduction as a cure of involuntary unemployment, partly because it may not increase consumption and encourage investment and partly because it is opposed by trade unions. Necessarily, Keynesism attacks two institutions of capitalist economy—inequality of incomes and rate of interest—which, according to it, prevent the attainment of full employment.

Inequality of income, which results in excessive saving by the rich, checks—the Keynesians say—not only consumption but also investment, because the latter depends on the expected future magnitude of the former. Traditional economics used to justify inequality of income on the ground that the growth of capital largely depended on the savings of the rich out of their superfluity. Keynesism, on the other hand, maintains that when mass unemployment prevails the growth of capital depends not at all on a low propensity to consume, but is, on the contrary held back by it.[1] Keynesism, thus, not merely removes one of the social justifications of great inequality of income. It also suggests that re-distribution of income by means of progressive income-tax and heavy death-duties, resulting in higher propensity to consume, may prove positively favourable to the growth of capital and consumption and ultimately to employment.[2] Keynesism appears to favour a certain degree of egalilarianism—a feature of socialism.

---

[1] General Theory, 26.
[2] General Theory, 16.
[3] General Theory, 7.

Rate of interest, the Keynesians maintain, retards investment when it exceeds marginal efficiency of capital which tends to fall as investment is increased. Traditional economics found the justification for a moderately high rate of interest in the necessity of providing a sufficient inducement to save. Keynesism rejects the traditional view that rate of interest is a payment for saving, and turns down the traditional justification for high rate of interest on the ground that, even if a high rate of interest induces individuals to save more, total savings cannot be large—rather it must fall—since a high rate of interest arrests investment and keeps income, out of which savings come, at a low level. Further, as the volume of effective saving is necessarily determined by the volume of investment and the latter is promoted by a low rate of interest, Keynesism, on the contrary, advocates the reduction of the rate of interest—by increasing liquidity—relatively to marginal efficiency of capital till full employment is attained.[3]

This policy of lowering rate of interest, if given effect to, Keynes held, would, besides promoting employment *via* investment, "mean the euthanasia of the rentier and consequently the euthanasia of the cumulative oppressive power of the capitalist to exploit the scarcity value of capital"[4]. A desirable social change in the direction of socialism, it seems to be; for interest to-day rewards no genuine sacrifice, and socialism does not tolerate an income which is not earned. The owner of capital obtains interest because capital is scarce, and Keynesism finds no intrinsic reason for the scarcity of capital. More significant for socialism is the view, expressed by Keynes, that if savings by individuals come to an end before capital had become abundant, it would be possible to effect communal saving through the agency of the state.[1] Thus, Keynesism not only proves the rate of interest—the economic basis of the rentier—is unjustifiable and, if high, condemns millions to unemployment. It also points out the feasibility of replacing the rentier class by the State for the supply of savings. In short, Keynesism views the rentier aspect of capitalism as a transitional phase which would disappear when it had done its work.[2]

---

[1], [2] General Theory. 373.
[3] General Theory, 375.
[4] General Theory, 376.

To liquidate involuntary unemployment Keynes wanted the State "to exercise a guiding influence on the propensity to consume, partly through its scheme of taxation, partly by fixing the rate of interest." [3] But, as he doubted the efficacy of low rate of interest in promoting investment, he suggested "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment," as the only means of securing an approximation to full employment.[4] Since the publication of the *General Theory*, Keynesians have developed—of course, with differences in emphasis—the measures which have to be adopted by the State for attaining full employment. In the first place, they advocate redistribution of income by means of (*i*) progressive tax on individual and corporate incomes, (*ii*) remission or reduction of taxes on necessaries and semi-necessaries, (*iii*) extension of social security measures of redistributive character, (*iv*) squeezing of profit-margins where possible and (*v*) raising wages proportionately to rising productivity—all with the object of increasing the propensity to consume. In the second place, they suggest promotion of private investment by lowering interest-rates and giving tax-incentives. In the third place, they recommend public investment, financed by means of taxation and borrowing, with the object of ploughing into the productive system individual savings which otherwise tend to remain idle and detract the economy from the full employment level. If all these do not create an aggregate demand enough to establish full employment, they advocate borrowing from the banks, that is, the issue of new money.

Though full employment remains the ultimate goal, Keynesism—as developed in Britain and America during and after the war—hopes to attain many other objectives, *e.g.*, higher productive efficiency and elimination of waste, a high national dividend and an equitable distribution of income and lastly, social security and social improvement—in brief, a crusade against the "giant social evils of want, disease, squalor and ignorance."* Some of these objectives, for instance, higher productive efficiency, elimination of waste and high national dividend, are expected to result from full employment. Others, like equitable distribution of income, social security and social improvement, are expected to help the attainment of full employment and remove some of the serious evils of capitalism. These objectives, Prof. Lerner thinks, "are so much more important that without them full employment itself becomes a questionable boon."[1] Keynesism now admits that the social objective of human activities is not employment but welfare—it is to raise the material standard of living and create opportunities for wider spiritual life.[2] And it insists that it is in the light of these social objectives, in addition to full employment, that the choice between the different measures necessary for the attainment of full employment is to be made. Keynesism is not, therefore, now the basis of a mere economic policy; it has become the foundation of a broad social policy. Its object is no longer more jobs for all. It looks forward to a better social life with wider amenities and larger opportunities.

---

[1], [2] General Theory, 376.
[3], [4] General Theory, 378.

Inevitably this widening of its scope—this transformation of Keynesism, formerly an economic policy, into a social policy *par excellence*—has led to the introduction of the principle of social priorities into the concept of full employment. The question of social priorities did not occur to Keynes, because, according to him, "it is in determining the volume, not the direction of actual employment, that the existing system has broken down."[3] But present-day Keynesians do admit that individualistic capitalism has failed even in the direction of actual employment. Admittedly, private expenditure is in certain directions wasteful and in others inadequate. Certain areas, industries and services do not actually develop because they are not immediately profitable to the capitalists, though from social view-point their development is desirable and necessary. The location of industries, as determined by the profit-calculations of the capitalists, is, again, not necessarily conducive to social welfare. Shifts in industries, when they take place, do destroy communal life and involve a waste of old and an unnecessary expenditure on new equipments and arrangements for communal services. Above all, there are "the giant social evils of want, disease, squalor and ignorance." To remove these deficiencies of capitalism, Keynesism now insists not only on adequate outlay, but also on wise outlay—not only by the State and other public bodies, but also by individuals.

---

[1] Lerner—Planning and Paying for Full Employment, 169.
[2] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, 147.
[3] General Theory, 379.

Since private outlay, left to itself, does not maximise social welfare and creates structural maladjustments, Lord Beveridge asserts that "the State cannot escape the ultimate responsibility for the general direction of outlay by reference to social priorities, however much it may be guided in its direction by the preference, expressed by citizens."[1] Even the decisions as to how money required for public outlay should be raised—that is, the choice between taxation and borrowing—even the object of deficit spending—that is, the expansion of public investment or subsidization of mass-consumption—is to depend on how money can be spent to best advantage by public authorities and private citizens taken together.

For the attainment of full employment Keynesism insists on planning. Keynes himself indicated the vital necessity of central control, comprehensive socialisation of investment and regulation of consumption in a programme for full employment. Strictly Keynesian or not, all those who wish full employment, except a few, feel that planning is a necessary condition for its attainment and maintenance. For to achieve and maintain full employment, it is realised, there has to be balanced relationship between consumption and private investment on one side, and between public outlays and private outlays in all their varieties, on the other. Further there would have to be the constant necessity of regulating prices and wages, relieving bottlenecks, breaking rigidities, controlling location of industries—all with the object of stabilising the full employment economy and making it flexible and thus adaptable to changing conditions of demand and supply.

A socialistic element, the importance of planning has, however, increased due to the incorporation of the principle of social priorities. For the "case for planning" as Mrs. Wootton says "is not that it is identical with, but that in certain circumstances, it is superior to the planless method of settling economic priorities."[2] But to the extent social priorities become an important consideration for Keynesism, reliance on market forces diminishes and the importance of the State in the allocation and the use of productive resources increases. And, in fact, Kenesism, as it now stands developed by its radical supporters, is very much suspicious of the beneficence of the market economy and its ability to help the attainment of essential social purposes. It demands, therefore, not only indirected regulation of private investment and consumption by means of changes in interest-rates and tax-incentives, but also direct regulation of their volume by means of licensing of private investment, establishment of State-undertakings and subsidies to mass-consumption. Further, it advocates controlled location of industries, organised mobility of labour and also planned outlay by the State—at least for the attainment of objectives which commend to all or a large majority.[1] Necessarily public investment acquires added significance in Keynesian programme and economy. And its object is not merely larger employment and social improvement but also economic stability. Capitalism, Keynesians know only too well, is inherently unstable, and consumption and investment are not properly regulated, full-employment economy would be wrecked. Public investment is to function as the chief regulator and stabilizer of the economy—the central weapon of Keynesian planning.

---

[1] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, 187.
[2] Wootton—Freedom Under Planning, 43.

CRCU 343

Necessarily Keynesism develops a new conception of the economic and social functions of the State for employment and wider social opportunities. If planning is to be effective, Keynesians admit that it must be, for a number of reasons, conducted by the State. So varied and complicated the details to be taken note of are bound to be that no authority other than the State can undertake the responsibility of full employment. Further, "no private enterprise can survey the whole field of industry or ensure at all times a demand for all that industry can produce at a price covering its costs. No private enterprise can make finance its servant rather than its master."[2] Keynesism understands the fundamental difference between private and public expenditure. What the State spends accrues to the community as its income. As the Central Bank regulates liquidity, so the State can by its expenditure regulate profitability. Therefore, "if full employment is to be secured," Burchardt says "the State must take on the positive economic function of regulating the level of demand."[3] This strikes one as a break from individualism and an inclination for socialism—a break and an inclination which Prof. Hayek views with horror and has been trying to resist in the name of individual freedom. Keynesism appears to be suspicious of the beneficence of laissez-faire and individualism in the economic field, for it proves that the result of the numerous free and independent economic units playing upon the market under the impetus of profit is not full employment but mass

---

[1] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, 150.
[2] *Ibid*, 135.
[3] Economics of Full Employment (Oxford Institute of Statistics) 34.

GS·1614

unemployment. Thus Keynesism seems to be heading towards socialism. It envisages planning by State on the basis of social priorities—for full employment and wider social opportunities.

* * * * *

When Keynesism is so developed it acquires certain traits which are to be found in socialism. Keynesism admits that individualistic capitalism is inevitably associated with chronic unemployment. It ustifies on economic as well as social grounds reduced inequality of ncomes and interest-rates. It attacks the rentier aspect of capitalism, and advocates "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment." It insists on planning for full employment on the basis of social priorities, and so up to a certain extent favours the supersession of automatic market forces. Above all, distrustful of the ability of private enterprise to maximise social good, it vests the State with wide economic functions. √ Nevertheless it would be a gross mistake to say that Keynesism represents an attempt to transform capitalism into socialism.

√The real object of Keynesism becomes obvious, if one turns to the circumstances that gave birth to it and has since nursed and reared it. Recurrent depression has been a characteristic of capitalist evolution, and it was recognised by the economists. Though unemployment was not regarded by the economists as an inevitable concomitant of capitalism, the socialists talked about it and labour always felt its rod. As capitalism grew older, its "inner contradiction" became sharper. After the first world-war capitalism, by then monopolistic, lost its resilience, and revival, even if it came, was halfhearted. In effect depression lingered on in the capitalist countries, swelling unemployment at a time when in Russia socialism, only a little over a decade old, was eradicating it. Inevitably labour, increasingly influenced by the Marxian idea of class-struggle, was becoming more and more hostile to capitalism. Unemployment became so patent a fact that it could no longer be abstracted from, and labour could no longer be hood-winked by unrealistic economic theorising. Keynes understood the temper of the time and warned the capitalists that√"the world would not much longer tolerate the unemployment which is associated with capitalist individualism."[1] With success he undertook the task of reorienting traditional economics, so that it could explain the persistence of chronic unemployment and recurrence of depression, and—more than that—show how within capitalism, with the State playing a more important part in economic matters, full employment and economic stability could be achieved. It was, in fact, in this anxiety to liquidate mass unemployment and maintain economic stability—obviously for the preservation of capitalism—that the origin of Keynesism lay—an anxiety created by the success of socialism when capitalism all the world over was facing an unprecedented crisis.

---

[1] General Theory,—381.

Since its birth, the significance of Keynesism has increased manifold. Even before the second world-war began, socialism in Russia had completely conquered unemployment. But it was only during the second world-war that the British and American capitalisms could banish unemployment. Labour has, therefore, and correctly, concluded that while socialist production for the satisfaction of peace-time needs banishes unemployment, capitalism does so only when war-time demand makes profits abnormal. A dangerous conclusion, since it is based on a profound doubt regarding the ability of capitalism to cure unemployment on peace basis. Quite naturally, the economists think that, if unemployment on a mass basis reappears after the bouyancy of war, capitalism itself may be smashed. If full employment was imperative to Keynes in the early thirties, it is a dire necessity to the Keynesians in the late forties. In clear words Carl Landuer says that "with the war experience teaching the common man that full employment is possible, we can expect very little patience if at any time jobs become scarce"[1]. Rightly, therefore, Prof. Lerner regards full employment as "the greatest single safeguard against totalitarian revolution".[2]

Since unemployment has to be liquidated for the safety of capitalism and since it cannot be done without the support of the State, Keynes, though a believer in "the essential virtues of capitalism," was forced to defend the extension of State functions and eventual encroachment on individualism "as the only practicable means of avoiding the destruction of capitalist forms in their entirety".[3] It is, again, the same urge to save capitalism that forces Prof. Lerner, an anti-socialist, to declare that, if all extensions of Governmental action for the attainment of full employment are forsworn because of a psychopathic exaggeration of its threat to individual freedom, "we shall fall into the far greater danger of failing to make our democratic society work well enough to be able to compete with its totalitarian rivals".[1] But the object of Keynesians extension of governmental economic functions is never to suppress private enterprise and establish socialism, but to make up the deficiencies of private enterprise and thus perpetuate capitalism, Prof. Hansen makes this object clear when he says that "if the democratic countries were not now planning and developing new institutional arrangements designed to make the market-economy function more effectively at high and stable levels of income and employment the future would be dark".[2]

---

[1] Landuer—Planning and Paying for Full Employment, 67.

[2] Lerner—*Ibid*, 212.

[3] General Theory, 381.

Keynes advocated "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment". But he was careful to add that "this need not exclude all manner of compromises and devices by which the State would co-operate with private initiative".[3] Under Keynesian socialisation of investment private industry, working for profit, is to do the job of production—the responsibility of the State being to ensure constant and adequate demand.[4] Though the degree of socialisation of investment, deemed necessary for the attainment of full employment, has increased on account of the widening of its scope at the hands of present-day Keynesians, socialisation of investment, Lord Beveridge remarks, is compatible with private enterprise. For full employment, according to him, necessitates not socialisation of production, but socialisation of demand.[5] No doubt, Prof. Hansen and Lord Beveridge, as distinguished from other Keynesians, would like to widen the frontiers of Keynesian socialisation of investment, yet even they do not want to extend it over areas where private enterprise is forthcoming that is, where profits are assured. In fact, Keynesian socialisation of investment has the object of making up the deficiency of private enterprise as a means of social well-being, and it stops far short of socialist socialisation, which involves socialisation of the economy as a whole.

For its success Keynesism depends on planning. But the object of Keynesian planning is, as Prof. Hansen points out, "to make the market economy function in a workable manner so as to provide adequate employment opportunities"[6]. And lest, as Prof. Hayek says, "the close interdependence of all economic phenomena makes it difficult to stop planning just where we wish"[1]—lest planning becomes all comprehensive and totally replaces the market economy, based on private ownership of the means of production—Prof. Lerner asserts, that planning for full employment "must be kept in its place as one of the instruments to serve the economy together with private enter-enterprise".[2] Keynesian planning is, therefore, not planning without private enterprise, but planning with private enterprise and within capitalism. It is planning with the object of making the capitalist market economy once again successful, when it is being challenged by socialism. It is far removed from the sort of planning that socialism implies. Socialist planning starts with the abrogation of private property-rights in the means of production. Socialisation in the means of production is its necessary pre-condition. Keynesian planning does not require the State to assume on behalf of society total ownership of the instruments of production. "If the State is able to determine the aggregate amount of resources devoted to augmenting the instruments and the basic rate of reward to those who own these", Keynes remarked, "it will have accomplished all that is necessary".[3] And apart from the necessity of central controls to bring about an adjustment between the propensity to consume and the inducement to invest, Keynes continued, "there is no more reason to socialise economic life than there was before."[4] To reassure the capitalists he further stated that "there would be wide fields of activity that would remain unaffected by State regulation."[5] For though full employment might involve State regulation of private enterprise, "it need not" as Lord Beveridge says, "lead to nationalisation of production generally."[6]

---

[1] Lerner—Planning and Paying for Full Employment, 170.
[2] Hansen—Economic Policy and Full Employment, 17.
[3] General Theory, 378.
[4] Hansen—Post-war Economic Problems, 14.
[5] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, 190.
[6] Hansen—Economic Policy and Full Emplopment, 7.

The transformation of Keynesism into a broad social policy—its incorporation of the principle of social priorities—has been the result of economic expediency and social strategy and not at all of any genuine sympathy for the helpless masses. Measures for social security and outlays for social improvements are expected to serve a double purpose, and without touching the fundamentals of capitalism—private property, enterprise and profit. To the extent they enlarge public outlays they would help the attainment of full employment; and to the extent they widen social opportunities they would help the maintenance of capitalism. By giving jobs to the unemployed and by redressing the grievances of the neglected, social improvement and social security, Keynesians believe, would make capitalism comparable to socialism and so acceptable to the masses. Moreover, it is now realized by the Keynesians that full employment, even if attained, can be maintained within the four-walls of capitalism, only if capital and labour co-operate. For the attainment of full employment capital has to submit to heavier taxation and some curtailment of freedom to invest. Keynesians expect that capital would submit to them, for it is only such submission which can eradicate unemployment and prolong the life of capitalism. But for the maintenance of full employment wages should be prevented from rising above the level set by productivity of labour.

---

[1] Hayek—Road to Serfdom, 79.
[2] Lerner—Planning and Paying for Full Employment, 170.
[3] General Theory, 378.
[4] General Theory, 379.
[5] General Theory, 377.
[6] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, 205.

Full employment by creating scarcity of labour, it is apprehended by Keynesians; will strengthen the trade unions. If in that event wages rise more than proportionately to labour-productivity, inflation can be avoided only by effecting continuously a shift from profits or other non-wage incomes to wages, that is, in effect by filching capital and benefiting labour. But if the economy is to remain capitalist, this cannot go on indefinitely. During the last war, even though there was scarcity of labour, labour did not press for wage-advances in excess of its productivity. It allowed wages to lag behind the rise in living-costs and productivity, because to labour victory in war, through greater effort and larger production, was more important a consideration than wage-advance. Keynesians, therefore, think that full-employment economy in peace can be maintained, only if labour develops a high state in it. By itself full employment, which would mean economic security, must be valued by labour, and for its stability labour is expected to adopt a reasonable attitude to the question of wage and the institution of profit. But some Keynesians think that full employment by itself may not be enough guarantee of its own stability—it may not by itself tame labour in service of capital. So, to reinforce reasonableness, to develop a high sense of responsibility—"a social conscience"—in the ranks of labour,[1] the state labour in full-employment capitalism, the more practical Keynesians, like Professors Lerner and Hansen and Lord Beveridge feel, has to be heightened by making full employment desirable to labour not only from the view-point of jobs, but also from that of social opportunities. Labour, the Keynesians know, does not now want only employment. It wants in addition a decent living-standard, a share of those items of individual well-being which have hitherto been the monopoly of the well-placed. It is for meeting this demand of organised labour, and thereby securing its co-operation in full-employment capitalism, that Keynesism has, of late, accommodated the principle of social priorities and talks loudly of social security and social improvement and wider social opportunities. The ultimate object behind this elevation of Keynesism to the rank of social philosophy, therefore, is to establish class-collaboration, undermine, the philosophy of class-struggle and eventually to ensure the future of capitalism.

---

[1] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, p. 254.

The attack of Keynesism on the institutions of inequality of incomes and rate of interest is also motivated by the desire to conserve capitalism by protecting its heart—the institution of profit. Capitalism breaks down at intervals, because profits decline periodically. And chronic unemployment persists, because the tendency of " marginal efficiency of capital " to fall, as production increases, holds up production itself much before full employment is attained. Keynesism makes no attempt to find out the basic cause of the limitation to capitalist production and investment. It refrains from such an attempt obviously because the basic cause—which it knows lies in the private ownership of the means of production, in the contradiction between social character of production and private character of appropriation—if discovered, would compell it to suggest the abolition of capitalism, and defeat its very purpose—the preservation of capitalism. But as mass employment has to be liquidated for the preservation of capitalism, Keynesism has to devise some means of increasing production in general and of investment in particular within the capitalist frame-work. It has to show how further production and investment can be made profitable against the inevitable tendency of marginal efficiency of capital to fall—how, in short, the barriers to capitalist production can be pushed back.

Leaving the basic cause—property-rights in land and capital—unearthed, Keynesism, therefore, turns against its offshoots—rate of interest and inequality of incomes—which retard production and inhibit investment. Capitalism in crisis cannot, as it did, produce for the capitalist class, consisting entreprenuers and rentiers, high profits as well as high interest. It cannot, as it could, support excessive inequality of incomes and enable the capitalists to accumulate and bequeath property. If, however, capitalism is to continue functioning, and on a high level, it is declining profits, which, has to be supported by lowering interest-rates and reducing inequality of incomes. Eventually, Keynesism attacks the two least defensible and less fundamental of the capitalist institutions—inheritence and interest—and recommends progressive death-duties and low interest-rates—the latter for promoting investment and both together for suppressing income-inequality arising out of unequal property-ownership. But since profits, too, account for inequality of income, Keynesism justifies "some" inequality of incomes from work on the basis of bourgeois psychology and behaviour and recommends "a scheme of direct taxation which would allow the intelligence and determination and executive skill of the financier, the entrepreuner to be harnessed to the service of the community on reasonable terms of reward." [1]

Thus, while Keynesian theory represents an attempt to reconstruct traditional economics in circumstances of the general crisis of capitalism, Keynesian policy is an attempt to repair and conserve free-enterprise capitalism by means of public spending and State regulation. In fact, Keynesism has no intention to infringe the rights of individuals to own the means of production ; and it visualises the State only as a balancing force which will serve only to supplement the behaviour of individual capitalists. It is an attempt to rectify capitalism of its outstanding faults and thereby to postpone the advent of socialism. It strives to silence the demand for the overthrowal of capitalism by clipping a little the wings of capital and putting a few feathers on the flanks of labour. Posing as a golden mean between the extremes of anarchistic capitalism and thorough-going socialism, Keynesism seeks to "by-pass the socialist capitalist controversy," [2] and to render the two words socialism and capitalism useless for any serious discussion,[3] so that the future of capitalism, where it still exists, may be safe.

---

[1] General Theory, 377.

[2] Beveridge—Full Employment in a Free Society, 191.

[3] Lerner—Planning and Paying for Full Employment, 217.

CENTRAL LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY

THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE OF PARAMOUNTCY—A CRITIQUE

C. T. Moitra M.A.

Depatment of Economics, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack[*]

Section 7, Sub-section I, of the India Independence Act, 1947, provides for the lapse of paramountcy of the British Crown over Indian States. The Cabinet Mission Statement of May, 12, 1946, broached this issue and elaborated the stand of His Majesty's Government on it. Much has been said and as much written about it since then, and the recent complications in Indo-Pakistan relations (over Junagad and Kashmir) are not a little due to what has been aptly termed by H. E. Chakravarty Raja Gopal· Achari, Governor-General of India, as the reckless policy of lapse of paramountcy.

A critical examination of this policy, which has been dignified by some with the title of a 'doctrine', will repay itself. A broad analysis of the 'doctrine' reveals that there are at least five principal propositions in it. They are as follows:

I. Paramountcy is an outgrowth of treaties, Sanads, engagements, etc., between the Ruling Chiefs and the Paramount Power.

II. Paramountcy is Crown-Prince relationship.

III. Paramountcy cannot be transferred to Independent Successor-Authorities in India.

IV. As Paramountcy cannot also be retained by the Crown, Parliament, therefore, must provide by express legislation for the lapse of paramountcy and the termination of all treaties, engagements, etc., between the Crown and the Princes.

V. On lapse of Paramountcy, the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power revert to the States and their Rulers, who are the natural reversionary legatees, and they regain their independence.

I. The First Proposition deals with the genesis of Paramountcy. Paramountcy is said to have grown out of treaties, sanads, engagements, etc. Indian States, according to the nature of their original relationship with the British Power, fall into two broad groups—treaty states and non-treaty states. The number of treaty states is 40—the rest being non-treaty states. This distinction, however, it may be noted, lost much of its significance on the assumption of direct rule by the Crown, when the Crown granted sanads to almost all Ruling Chiefs.

Most of the Indian States of any importance (except 'Kalat' in Baluchistan) came into relationship with the British Power in India before the Crown assumed direct control over Indian affairs, *i.e.*, their first relationship was with the East India Company. Sir Leslie Scott, the eminent British jurist, who was briefed by the Princes to represent their case before the Butler Committee, made the point that the Princes from the very beginning, even before they came under the direct aegis of the Crown, had relationship with the Crown. The Princes as Sovereigns, he argued, could enter into treaty—relations and engagements with another Sovereign only—which, in the context, was the Crown, not the E. I. Company. The E. I. Company, therefore, with whom most of the Rulers had entered into relationship originally, was not the Paramount Power, but merely its agent. Thus, the Princes were, from the very outset of their relationship with the Paramount Power, in relationship with the Crown.

When the Crown assumed direct Control over Indian administration, it did not start functioning directly as the Paramount Power. The Government of India was assigned the task of exercising the rights and discharging the responsibilities of the Crown as the Paramount Power. In that capacity, the Government of India operated merely as an agent—subject to the effective control and supervision of the Crown, thus, the original relationship with the Crown under Paramountcy, which the Princes claimed and the Crown recognised, was not in the least affected by the interposition of the Government of India as agent.

Again, from the unbroken continuity of the Crown-Prince-relationship under Paramountcy, and from the nature of its historical origin, *viz.*, treaties, sanads, etc., it is deduced that the Paramountcy Power of the Crown was based on a special element of faith or confidence reposed in the Crown as such, by the Princes. This point of view was admirably developed by Sir Leslie Scott, the Princes' Counsel, and the Butler Committee accepted it. The relevant paragraph of the Committee's Report says—"The states demand that without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control, for instance an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature. If any Government in the nature of a dominion Government should be constituted in British India, such a Government would clearly be a new government resting on a new and written constitution. The contingency has not arisen; we are not directly concerned with it; the relations of the states to such a government would raise questions of law and policy which we connot here and now foreshadow in detail. We feel bound, however, to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the Princes on this score, and to record our strong opinion that in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature." Lest the above admission should be construed as amounting to the recognition of the contractual character of Paramountcy, the Butler Committee hastened to explain the position in clear and unambiguous terms—"On the other hand we cannot agree with certain statements and arguments that occur in this opinion. The relationship of the Paramount Power with the states is not a merely contractual relationship resting on treaties made more than a century ago. It is a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting, as Prof. Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact."

II. The second proposition of the Doctrine refers to the scope of the Paramountcy relationship. There are two parties to Paramountcy—the Crown and the Ruling Chiefs. The Government of India is not a separate party in its own right. It only performs agency functions on behalf of and under the effective control of the Crown.

III. The third proposition follows from the first two. Paramountcy means Crown-Prince relationship. Paramountcy, because of its peculiar historical association, contains an element of confidence on the part of the Princes in the high sense of justice of the Crown. This does not necessarily entail any corresponding obligations of a definite character on the part of the Crown as in the case of ordinary contractual engagements. Nevertheless, it imposes a moral responsibility on its shoulders, *viz.*, not to betray that confidence by transferring Paramountcy without the consent of the Princes to an Anthority or Authorities not under its effective control.

IV. The fourth proposition says that paramountcy becomes untenable in the new set-up caused by the Complete transfer of political power in British India. Paramountcy power cannot be transferred by the Crown to independent successor authorities in India without the consent of the Princes, nor can it be retained by the Crown because, with the complete transfer of power in British India, the

Crown will lose its effective control over the administrative machinery through which alone Paramountcy Power—comprising both rights and responsibilities—can be exercised. Thus, the Crown must relinquish paramountcy. The renunciation of Paramountcy by the Crown must result from and be backed up by statutory provision enacted by Parliament, which would make the process final and irrevocable, and would leave no legal or constitutional loophole for its revival by successor authorities in British India.

V. The fifth proposition, which in effect is the operative part of this Policy or Doctrine, says that, on lapse of Paramountcy, the Princes would regain their independence. Paramountcy is the bond that limits the unfettered sway of the Rulers, and on its lapse, they are restored to their original absolute sovereignty.

In the preceding lines I have attempted to give in brief the process of reasoning that underlies the Doctrine of Lapse. Like all brief statements, the above analysis is not above imperfection. But broadly, it represents the fundamentals of the Doctrine. I propose to examine in the following paragraphs the five cardinal postulates set forth above, and explore their juristic implications, their political soundness, and their historical validity.

I. The first proposition, to begin with, which postulates that Paramountcy, historically, grew out of treaties, engagements, etc., gives rise to three important corollaries:

(*a*) The first corollary is that the Princes had always been in relationship with the Crown and with no other authority. Historically, it may be argued, their first contact was with the E. I. Company. Subsequently, when the Crown assumed direct control over Indian administration, the Paramountcy relationship with the Princes passed from the Company to the Crown. The Princes, however, contended that they, as Sovereigns, had always been in relationship with the Crown who was Sovereign—though that relationship, at its inception, was instituted through the agency of the E. I. Company. When, therefore, that relationship was transferred from the Company to the Crown, there was only an appearance of transfer; it was in reality a restoration of authority to where it rightfully belonged. When, again, the Crown, after assumption of power, assigned the actual exercise of Paramountcy to the Government of India as its field agent working under its effective control, there really was no change in Paramountcy relationship between the Princes and the Crown. As regards the legal basis of Paramountcy relationship British authorities have explored and exhausted the entire range of jurisprudence to find one. They have failed to discover any acceptable basis in the ordinary legal systems—either municipal or international. They call Paramountcy *Sine Generis*. Sir L. Scott pointed out that Paramountcy did not come under the purview of either municipal or international law. To find a legal basis, he had recourse to what he called the first principles of law. Prof. Westlake, an eminent authority, held similar views. He was, however, of the opinion that Paramountcy, though not covered by either ordinary municipal or international law, was not without a legal basis. A special system of constitutional law of the Empire applied to it.

(*b*) The Second Corollary (to the First Proposition) is that Paramountcy, which was Crown-Prince relationship at the beginning and which has been so throughout, involves a special element of faith on the part of the Princes in the Crown as such. This faith was reposed in the Crown when the Rulers originally surrendered a part of their sovereignty to it and placed themselves unreservedly under its protection.

(*c*) The third Corollary is that the Crown could not transfer Paramountcy to any new authority, which was not completely under its control, without laying itself open to the grave change of breach of faith with the Rulers.

I will examine here both the principal proposition and also the three corollaries. The First Proposition is not in accord with historical facts. "The Paramount supremacy of the British Government" stated the Government of India in 1877 " is a thing of gradual growth; it has been established partly by conquest ; partly by treaty ; partly by usage ; and for a proper understanding of the relations of the British Government to the Native States, regard must be had to the incidents of this *defaeto* supremacy, as well as to treaties and charters in which reciprocal rights and obligations have been recorded and the circumstances under which those documents were originally framed. In the life of states, as well as of individuals, documentary claims may be set aside by overt acts ; and a uniform and long continued course of practice, acquiesced in by the party against whom it tells, ...must be held to exhibit the relations which in fact subsist between them. " Thus, to say that Paramountcy has grown out of treaties, engagements, etc., is as unreal as a corresponding assertion which would state that the British Constitution had grown out of the Magna Carta, the Bill of rights, and a host of other formal, written documents which lie interspersed in the long course of Britain's constitutional evolution.

Even, if it is admitted that the relationship fundamentally grew out of treaties, engagements, etc., the corollaries do not necessarily follow. Historically, the states were never independent and their Rulers never enjoyed full sovereign status. "It is not in accord with historical fact," wrote the Butler Committee "that when the Indian States came into contact with the British power, they were independent, each possessed of full sovereignty and of a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by the rules of international law. In fact, none of the states ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Mughul Empire, the Mahratta supremacy, or the Sikh kingdom, and dependent on them. Some were rescued, others were created by the British."

Thus, the pretension that the states were originally sovereign and that their Rulers, therefore, could enter into treaty relations with another sovereign only, is historically untenable. The E. I. Co., with whom the Princes first came into contact, was quite competent in its own right, and not necessarily as an agent of the Crown, *i.e.*, the sovereign, to have relations with such political entities as the Indian Native States. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Princes, at the outset, had relationship with the E. I. Co., as such and not the Crown (through the E. I. Co. as agent). It may be argued that the Company was a subordinate body, deriving all its authority from the Crown (and Parliament). Thus, it may be contended that, even if the Princes had relationship with the E. I. Co., they were, from the very beginning related with the Crown.

This contention, however, is equally untenable. There is a fundamental difference between relationship with the Crown as the principal through the E. I. Co. as agent, and relationship with the E. I. Co. as the principal—(deriving its authority in general from the Crown) and a remote connection with the Crown in that context. The second and third corollaries, which refer to the element of good-faith in Paramountcy relationship—and whose validity depends upon the unbroken character of the Paramountcy of the Crown, thus in the light of the above analysis, are emptied of all substance and truth.

Briefly, my argument boils down to this: Historically, the Princes were not possessed of full sovereign status when they entered into treaty relations and other engagements with the E. I. Co. The E. I. Co. which was clothed with authority by the Crown, entered into these political relations with the Princes in its own right as the Principal, subject to such limitations as were incidental to its being a subordinate authority; and not as a mere agent of the Crown. Thus, when the E. I. Co. relinquished charge, and power was directly assumed by the Crown, Paramountcy power was transferred from an inferior and subordinate principal to a superior and sovereign one. There was, therefore, a real, and not apparent, transfer of Paramountcy. Exploring further, we notice that the change over did not cause any material alteration in the political and legal status of the State and their rulers. Paramountcy of the E. I. Co. had already stripped the Rulers of the last vestige of independence—either real or pretended. Transfer of Paramountcy to the Crown did not revive the lost glory, or confer any new international status on them.

In the opinion of eminent authorities like Holland and Westlake, Paramountcy did not come under the operation of international law. According to Sir L. Scott it was not covered by Municipal law either. Westlake, however, held that though it was, not governed by either ordinary international law or odinary Municipal law, it was not without a legal basis. According to him, the rules which regulated the status of the 'States' and their rulers formed a very special part of the constitutional law of the Empire.

That Paramountcy is not covered by international law, is beyond controversy. But the other views of Scott and Westlake are not above doubts. To determine the nature and contents of Paramountcy relationship, Scott had recourse to what he called the first principles of law. The first principles, however, may assume different characters under different interpretations given under different circumstances. They can hardly form any proper and tangible basis at all. Again, coming to Westlake, we notice that the whole thing is shrouded in a mystical veil. What is that special system of constitutional law of the Empire which Westlake invokes? Wherein lies the speciality of that system? Paramountcy certainly is a part of the constitutional system of the British Empire in that it is not covered by international law and is an incident of Britain's Empire in India. Its speciality ostensibly lies in the fact that it has grown up without formal Parliamentary enactment. As regards the second point, *viz.*, the speciality of Paramountcy, it is not fully sustained by the evidence of history. It is true that Parliament did not create Paramountcy by express and specific legislation. But it is equally true that Paramountcy grew up in dimensions and finally attained proportions whose limits could not be defined or demarcated, by prolific use by the Government of India of the provisions of various Acts of Parliament, which had been passed with very different objects. The application of the 'Foreign Jurisdiction

Act, 1890', is a case in point. Again, the alleged immunity of Paramountcy from Parliamentary jurisdiction has been effectively disproved by the final Act of the British Parliament with regard to India, *viz.*, the India Independence Act, 1947. Parliament, by express legislation, has voided treaties and terminated Paramountcy. If Parliament, by law, could void Paramountcy, it evidently could, if it so desired, alter, amend, and modify the incidents and contents of the same. In fact, the whole thing is a myth and owes its origin to the false distinction drawn between Paramountcy of the crown and its full sovereignty. Paramountcy of the crown, stripped of all unecessary verbiage, was, in plain constitutional language, its full and unfettered political sovereignty in regard to the Indian States, and thus, was as much within the scope of Parliament's legislative competence as any other matter which came under the purview of the sovereignty of the Crown.

As regards the second corollary, which speaks of the element of personal confidence of the Rulers in the Crown, the whole thing, to put it bluntly, is a concoction. The Nizam's letter to Lord Reading, dated September 20, 1925, the numerous catalogues of grievances submitted by the Princes from time to time, which he piled up in the archives of the Political Department of the Government of India, and the elaborate and persistent efforts made by the Princes—both individually and collectively—to seek a clear elucidation of their position vis-a-vis the Crown and to secure a definition of the incidents of Paramountcy, all give the lie direct to the above assertion.

Before I proceed to an examination of the Second Proposition, I must point out that there is another possible approach to the problem of Paramountcy vis-a-vis treaties, engagements, etc. Traces of this are noticed in many statements of British Statesmen. To quote Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, "It is necessary to terminate Paramountcy and Suzerainty of the Crown over Indian States and with them, the political engagements concluded under Paramountcy".

Paramountcy, according to this view, was prior, not posterior, to political engagements, *i.e.* treaties, sanads, etc. These engagements were consequential and incidental to Paramountcy. If the above construction is admitted, the First Proposition assumes the following form: Paramountcy is the source or basis of treaties and other political engagements, or, in other words, the treaties, engagements, etc. are an outgrowth of Paramountcy.

Even under this version, the three corollaries to the original First Proposition may follow. The argument will run on some such lines: The Princes had political engagements with the Paramount Power from the beginning. Paramountcy of the Paramount Power, at the very start of Paramountcy relationship, was complete, *i.e.*, in more formal language, Paramountcy was complete political sovereignty. As the E. I. Co. was not a politically Sovereign Body; so the Paramountcy of the E. I. Co., at the beginning of that relationship, was an agency role—the Principal being the crown, which was Sovereign. Thus, the Princes, from the beginning, had been in relationship with the Crown. The Princes also placed their trust in the Crown. The Princes, therefore, should not be transferred to any other new relationship without their consent.

Even if for the sake of argument the above version of the First Proposition is admitted, and even if the validity of the first corollary deduced therefrom is accepted, the second and third corrolaries still remain untenable. In the political relationship which subsists between the sovereign and his subjects, whether they are ordinary citizens or gilded ruling chiefs, there is only in an indirect and remote way place for an element of personal trust or confidence in the sovereign. But that never assumes the proportions given in Corollary No. 3. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the Princes never had that implicit confidence in the Crown as is made out in Corollary No. 2. The exhibits are too recent and too numerous to be lost sight of. Thus, whichever version of the First Proposition is accepted, that cannot be trotted out as a valid objection against the transfer of Paramountcy to Successor Authorities in British India. Historically, legally, or on grounds of good faith, there hardly was any case for lapse by design.

II. The Second Proposition postulates that Paramountcy is Crown-Prince relationship. Such a description, apart from being inadequate, is positively misleading as regards the scope of Paramountcy functions. Paramountcy is not merely a legal nexus, as Sir L. Scott propounded, binding the Princes to the Paramount Power. It is a whole complexus of relationships in which at least four major interests have play in varying degrees of importance. They are (*a*) the Imperial interests of the Crown, (*b*) the Community-interest of India, (*c*) the Dynastic and other interests of Rulers, (*d*) and lastly, the Good government and Welfare interests of the dumb millions who live in the States. The Paramountcy of the Crown involved rights and responsibilities in regard to all these interests. Lord Reading in his famous letter dated March 27, 1926, to the Nizam of Hyderabad observed—"Where imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously or grievously affected by the action of its government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility." Again, the Butler Committee wrote—" It is not in accordance with historical fact that Paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters only, *viz.*, those relating to foreign affairs, and external and internal security, unless those terms are made to cover all those acts which the Crown through its agents has considered necessary for imperial purposes, for the good government of India as a whole, the good government of individual States, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life, and for dealing with cases in which Rulers have proved unfit for their position."

(*a*) Lord Ripon's Agreement with Mysore, 1881,

(*b*) The Proclamation of the government of India on the Gaikwar Case, 1875 (by which the Gaikwar was deposed and his issue disinherited),

(*c*) Lord Curzon's speech at Gwalior on November 29, 1899,

(*d*) Lord Minto's speech at Udaipur on November 1st, 1909,—to quote a few authorities, are all clear, unambiguous and emphatic on the point that Paramountcy, in addition to imperial and princely interests, embraced the community interest of India and the interests of the states people.

III. The Third Proposition follows from the first two. The reasoning runs like this:

Paramountcy is Crown-Prince relationship, and though not necessarily contractual in origin or significance, involves a special element of personal faith. Paramountcy, therefore, cannot be transferred to completely independent successor authorities in British India without laying the crown open to the charge of bad faith.

The fallacy of the above argument has already been demonstrated in the foregoing paragraphs. The Crown would have been perfectly within its rights on historical, legal and even ethical grounds to transfer Paramountcy to completely independent successor authorities who could operate it in their own right.

IV. The Fourth Proposition says that the Crown cannot, in the new set up, retain Paramountcy because the real test of Paramountcy is its continued exercise. The Crown cannot directly exercise Paramountcy in the context of an independent British India because, with independence, it will lose effective control over the administrative machinery of India through which alone Paramountcy Power could be exercised. The crown also cannot exercise Paramountcy indirectly through the agency of independent successor authorities set up in British India without gravely compromising and limiting their independence. Here, I may refer to the speech of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee (as reported by Reuter), who in moving the second reading of the India Independence Bill, 1947, in the House of Commons, observed—"The House will remember that the Cabinet Mission in their Memorandum of May 12,1946, informed the States that His Majesty's Government could not and would not in the circumstances, transfer Paramountcy an Indian Government. With the transfer of power to the two Indian Dominions, it is necessary to terminate Paramountcy and Suzerainty of the Crown over the Indian States, and with them the political engagements concluded under Paramountcy and the mutual rights and obligations of the Crown which derived therefrom. The reason for this is that they all depend for their implementation on the continuance and responsibility of Great Britain for the Government of India. With the transfer of power to the two Dominion Governments, it would be impossible for the British Government to carry out these obligations."

The Fourth Proposition, therefore, postulates that as Paramountcy could neither be transferred to independent successor authorities in British India, nor retained by the Crown in the altered context of an independent British India, it should be terminated along with all treaties and engagements, and all rights and obligations issuing therefrom.

A critical analysis of the above argument shows that the issue has been clinched to an absurdly limited form by specious reasoning and over-simplification. That the Crown could not retain Paramountcy in the altered conditions is beyond dispute. But the other premise regarding the insuperable difficulty of transfer is hardly valid. The Crown certainly could in the circumstances, without doing violence to law, tradition or justice, transfer paramountcy to the two Dominion Governments of India and Pakistan. Even if the British Government decided not to do that on the ground that by its past promises to the Princes, if not strictly by law, tradition etc., it was pledgebound not to transfer the Princes to any other new relationship without their consent, was there no other practical alternative open than drastic and precipitate lapse? There certainly was at least one other alternative present, which would have given a temporary lease of life to paramountcy without entailing any departure from past principles and pledges. The Crown was only one partner in the relationship of paramountcy. The Crown was perfectly competent to withdraw from that partnership as its position no longer fitted in with the altered political situation in India. But why did it, by unilateral action, dissolve an association and relationship in which at least three other parties, viz., the community in British India, the States people, and the Rulers were vitally interested? The Crown, before it retired from the field, could have arranged for the legal filling up of the vacuum to be caused by its withdrawal by providing for the setting up of two sets of Joint Administrative Machinery—one each for the Indian Union and Pakistan respectively—each representing in equal proportion, if necessary, the appropriate Dominion Government, the States people and the Princes, and the transferring to these two sets of Joint Bodies of the paramountcy of the Crown. Geographical contiguity and religious affiliation (of the States people)—might have served as the twin-tests of territorial distribution of divided paramountcy. The Crown might have provided for some liaison machinery even for the two paramountcies—for limited purposes during transition, just to enable the two bodies to sort out matters by mutual consultation and co-operation. Indeed, the legel acumen and constitutional ingenuity of British statesmanship in collaboration with Indian opinion could have easily found an acceptable and practical solution—a modus vivendi. Pending a more permanent arrangement, such a plan would have legally preserved the organic political unity of India—though in an attenuated form—so assiduously built up during two centuries of British rule. Why was not this obvious and sensible thing done by the British Govenment? The question is intriguing, and not unnaturally, gives rise to vague doubts and misgivings.

V. The climax, however, is reached in the fifth and last proposition. To quote Mr. Attlee, "with the ending of these treaties and agreements, the States regain their independence". Apart from the historical absurdity of the term 'regain . . . independence,' the question naturally poses itself—under what law do the States become independent? I will examine here the substance and validity of the above claim. The Princes may get independence by and under any of the accepted and recognised modes in international law—viz., reversion, restoration, recognition or grant. Now, for reversion or restoration an original status of independence must be demonstrably present. Historically, the Indian States had never been in possession of such a status. Thus, they cannot claim independence either by reversion or restoration.

Is it then by recognition that they enter into the blessed state of independence? In international law, recognition by other States of the independent status of another State, which claims independence but was not previously so, is made contingent on the fulfilment of certain essential pre-requisite conditions. Willingness and ability of the State, which claims recognition, to stand up for and preserve its independence is one of the conditions. Hyderabad, lately, made an attempt at the fulfilment of this condition but in the face of stern reality, the military adventure of that state did not last even a week. In the case of the majority of the Indian States, after the lapse of paramountcy, there never was an opportunity to test whether they would claim recognition, and, if they did, whether they would receive it. Most of them ended the brief interval of their alleged independent existence by entering into the more sensible arrangement of accession. Among the major States, Kashmir, Kalat, and Hyderabad made a bid for independence. Incursion of tribesmen from Pakistan ended Kasmir's pretensions, and the state—sadder but wiser—readily acceded to India. Kalat in Baluchistan also made a belated capitulation to Pakistan. Hyderabad took a more determined stand and even made a show of fight. But all that is ended now. Hyderabad has not formally acceded as yet but the issue is not much in doubt now. But in all these quixotic and almost midsummer episodes what is noteworthy is that none of these claimants ever received any international recognition from any source. (The Hyderabad case at the U N O. does not amount to international recognition). The British Government's assertion that the Indian States regained independence on lapse of Paramountcy did not amount to recognition because it was hedged in with all manner of conditions.

There is another ground on which the States might claim recognition of their independence, *viz.*, righting of a historical wrong or injustice, or the fulfilment of a historic pledge. Israel claims recognition on this ground among others. Poland, which had been carved out by the successive acts of her vandal neighbours, was recreated, restored and recognised on this ground among others.

The Indian States cannot plead this ground for the simple reason that Paramountcy, if any thing. had saved them from political extinction.

The other accepted mode, *viz.*, independence by grant, also does not apply. There was no grant of independence by the Sovereign Authority *i.e.*, Crown and Parliament. The India Independence Act, 1947, voided paramountcy. If the Princes can prove that expressly or by clear implication, the Act transfers sovereign power separately to the individual States, there may be a legal basis for independence. A close perusal of the 'Statute' shows that it is silent on the point. In the case of British India, Parliament both terminates its sovereignty, and transfers that sovereignty to independent successor authorities in India and Pakistan. But, as for the States, there is only a voidance of parmountcy—no validation of separate sovereignties in the States which are alleged to issue from the lapse. Thus, the alleged independence of the Princes is founded on nothing more solid than a mere obiterdictum of the British Government unsubstantiated by law, tradition, equity, or past history.

I now close my paper with this brief epilogue. The preceding analysis has inexorably led me to certain conclusions. The Policy of Lapse on all showing has been a sordid business. The most charitable construction that I have been able to put on it is that the British Parliament did not expressly provide for the transfer of sovereignty to the Indian States, as it did with British India and which it was constitutionally competent to do in regard to the Indian States as well, for the very weighty reason that the British Government did not want openlyo to estrange the two Dominion Governments in British India. That also explains its weak and halting recognition of state-independence on 'lapse'. But one also cannot be blind to the fact that the British Government with its intimate knowledge of Indian conditions, was perfectly aware of the incalculable possibilities of mischief of the step which it took, and which, but for the miracle that happened, might have dissolved the entire political fabric of India in chaos. One finds it hard to escape from the conclusion that the guiding motive of this policy was that which is commonly found in the attitude of some men who are eager to hurt but afraid to strike. This, however, is not a judgment. That must be left to history. We live too near the times to have that perspective and detachment which alone may entitle a man to pass impartial verdict. It is just a personal assessment, may be warped and twisted by the close proximity of events, of a man who has tried to probe and understand the inner workings of an extermely complex issue that has shaken the life of a whole subcontinent for nearly a year now after its liberation.

THE INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION OF INDIA—A BRIEF CRITICAL REVIEW OF ITS WORKING

DR. SAROJKUMAR BASU, M.A., PH.D.

Reader in Economics, Calcutta University

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India completed its first year of working on the 30th June, 1949. The amount of the issued share capital of Rupees five crores reserved for Government Scheduled Banks, and Insurance Companies and investment trusts has been fully subscribed. It is the co-operative banks which have failed to take up in full their portion of the share capital. The balance of the shares, *i.e.*, 79 which remained unallotted has since been taken up by the Reserve Bank under Sec. 4(5) of the Act establishing the Corporation. The rate of dividend guaranteed by the Central Government has been fixed at 2¼%.

As for the other resources of the Corporation, the balance sheet issued does not disclose any deposits having been received nor any bonds being issued. During the first year of its operation the Corporation has confined its financial assistance to industry to loans and advances against a mortgage of tangible assets. In view of the prevailing situation in the money and stock markets, the Corporation has considered it advisable not to undertake underwriting commitments or the business of guaranting loans raised by its industrial customers. Thus the Corporation has been able to provide its assistance to industries only in one of the three forms which have been permitted to it. Its scope had already been considerably circumscribed as under the provisions of the Act it was debarred from taking up shares of industrial companies. At present the scope has been further restricted. We have elsewhere stressed the desirability of authorising the Corporation to take up redeemable and non-redeemable preference and even ordinary shares of the industrial companies from the point of view of adapting its methods of finance to the peculiar needs of each industrial customer. In the present depressed conditions of the stock exchange particularly, a reconsideration of its policy by the Corporation in this respect may prove to be of great advantage to its clients.

The applicant for assistance has to furnish detailed information to the I.F.C. on various points. The precise nature of the product to be manufactured, the value of the security offered, the purposes for which assistance is being sought under such heads as land, buildings, plant and machinery etc., the location of the factory, the nature of title to the land, the type of machinery to be purchased, the possibilities of a sustained market for its products, cost of production estimated on pre-war and current basis, the technical staff in its employment and finally whether the company has projected its balance sheets and profit and loss accounts showing what resources the company will have for repaying the loan and the profit it will make. These are some of the more important points on which the Corporation desires full information.

The following criteria appear to have been adopted in judging the applications for assistance—(1) natural importance of the industry; (2) experience and competence of the management; (3) feasibility of the scheme; (4) reputation enjoyed by the products of the company for quality; (5) cost of the schemes compared with the resources of the company; (6) security offered and its properties to the loan; (7) whether the aid provided is likely to enable the company to work efficiently; (8) whether adequate supplies of raw materials are assured over a period of years and finally whether the concern has adequate techincal personnel.

The schemes put forward are examined in their techincal as well as financial aspects. The officers of the Corporation inspect the working of the factory and are asked to report particularly on such points as (1) whether the factory is working satisfactorily; (2) whether adequate arrangements have been made for power; (3) whether proper books of account are being maintained; (4) whether the company is likely to be handicapped by lack of water, access to a public road or liablility to floods etc.

The Corporation does not at present possess its own staff of technical experts. It seeks the necessary technical advice with regard to the schemes received from its industrial customers from the Ministry of Industry and Supply and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. While such advice has been hitherto readily given, we must stress the desirability of the corporation engaging its own staff of engineers, cost accountants and other technique experts. A great deal of delay is likely to be involved in files passing to and from the over-worked Government departments and the Corporation. The staff, as we shall see later on, may also prove to be the nucleus of a liaison department. In some cases arrangements have been made for carrying out investigations by technical experts, both official and non-official, known for their knowledge of the particular industry in question. Opportunities are also given to the industrial-customers to send their own experts to discuss their schemes in collaboration with the Corporation's technical advisers.

The financial aspects of the schemes are also scrutinised with the same case. A scheme may be technically possible but financially unsound. Hence the requirements of the borrowing concern in respect of land, buildings and machinery are thoroughly examined to find out whether with the aid furnished by the Corporation, the company will be comfortable in financial matters. Modifications of the scheme are also suggested to bring down the costs.

The loans advanced by the Corporation have generally been made against a first mortgage of the fixed assets of the companies like land, buildings, plant and machinery. Accommodation has primarily been granted for the acquisition of fixed assets. As a rule no advances are granted against hypothecation of stocks of raw materials, and finished goods for working capital. The Corporation has no intention of competing with the commercial banks with regard to the provision of working capital.

The rates of interest charged by the Corporation have varied from 5 to 5½%. These rates do not compare favourably with the rates charged by the British I.C.F.C. but they are much lower than commercial rates and those charged by other lenders in India on more easily reliable securities. The interest charged is payable every six months. The Corporation should provide its assistance to industry at a moderate cost and a rate of interest of 4 to 4½% will be quite appropriate.

To protect its interests, the following safeguards for the loans granted have been adopted by the Corporation. It has required a guarantee joint and several, of the loans by the directors or partners of the Managing Agency firm in their personal capacity, it has reserved the right to itself to appoint two directors to see that the affairs of the borrowing concern are being prudently managed, and finally, it has stipulated that during the currency of the loan the dividend should be restricted to a maximum of 6% per annum subject to variations with the consent of both the parties.

The period during which the loans are to be repaid has been fixed according to the prospects of the particular borrowing

Company and the nature of its business. The maximum period so far allowed is 15 years and has ordinarily been 12 years. This is a period which is much shorter than that for which the International Bank or the recently established industrial financing institutions working abroad have been usually lending. Such a limitation on the duration of the loan is likely to prove a handicap to many concerns and some deserving borrowers may not be able to make use of the facilities provided by the Corporation. The period should be extended to 20 years or even 25 years which is the maximum period allowed under the Act.

The borrowing concerns will have to repay the loans in equal annual instalments. In some cases a graduated scale has been preferred. As the loans hitherto provided have been granted only to new companies or companies planning extensions, the payment of the first instalment has been postponed to the end of the second or third year. But it is debatable whether the concerns will earn sufficient profits in so short a period as to be able to pay the instalments from the second or third year. The better and sounder method of financing to be adopted in such cases, where some years are required for development, is the taking up of redeemable preference shares with or without cumulative dividends.

After the loan has been sanctioned, the corporation arranges for periodical inspections. Such inspections are extremely valuable for these enable the corporation to undertake supervision of the end-use of the loan, to see how far the amount obtained is being utilised for the purpose for which it is intended and how far the schedules of construction or expansion are being conformed. But the provision of a Technical Investigation or Liaison Department is essential for this purpose. The technical staff of the Corporation should be in close liaison with the borrowing concerns and not only carry on the periodical inspections but also make available to the Corporation's customers the benefit of their expert advice. The absence of such a department is a grave lacuna and the corporation should take steps to build up the necessary staff for such a department. At a later stage we are told the Corporation intend to engage engineers and other technicians. But the sooner it does so, the better for it as well as for its clients.

In considering applications the Corporation has been guided not so much by the value of the assets mortgaged to it as by the profit earning capacity and prospectus of the concern and the technical soundness of the scheme. The question of security margin on loans granted by the corporation has frequently been raised in this connection. But we should think that the value of the security is only one of many considerations and that too of varying weight from one individual case to another—which should form the basis of its decisions to make a loan. Past records, earning capacity, management, market prospects and several other factors must affect appreciation of the security offered. Thus there should not be any hard and fast rule covering the extent of the security required against the loan. Such is also the practice of the British F.C.I. and I.C.F.C.* and the Indian Institution should do well to take note of it.

Although the total number of enquiries from eligible concerns was 156, formal and concrete proposals for financial assistance were received from 95 concerns? the amount asked for being Rs. 10,33,18,000. Twenty-one applications of a total amount of Rs. 3,42,25,000 have been sanctioned but the total amount made available up to the end of June, 1949 was only Rs. 1,32,99,215. The difference is to be explained partly by the unwillingness of the borrowing concerns to take the entire amount in one lump sum with a view to saving interest charges and partly by their reviewing the original schemes in an attempt to cut down costs. A further cause of the discrepancy between the amount sanctioned and that actually disbursed is to be found in the fact that defects have been found in a number of cases in the title to the land of the borrowing concern. In such cases the completion of the mortgage and the rectification of the defects to the title took some time. In the mean time arrangements were made to furnish assistance against the pledge of loose machinery or machinery stored in godowns so that the company might be spared any hardship.

The applications sanctioned relate to a variety of industries situated in different parts of India. Chemicals, textile machinery, cotton mills, ceramics and glass, cement and metallurgical industry are found to have received the greater portion of the loans sanctioned. We give below a classified list of industries together with the amount sanctioned in each case :—

Type of Industry	Amount Sanctioned.
	Rs.
Ceramics and glass	... 60,00,000
Chemicals	... 56,50,000

---

* Letters to the writer from the General Managers, I.C.F.C. Ltd., and F.C.I., Ltd., dated 4th May and 5th May, 1949.

Types of Industry		Amount Sanctioned
		Rs.
Textile machinery	...	43,00,000
Cement	...	40,00,000
Cotton Textiles	...	40,00,000
Metallurgical Industry	...	30,00,000
Electrical Engineering	...	26,00,000
Iron and Steel	...	15,50,000
Mechanical Engineering	...	10,00,000
Woolen Textile	...	5,00,000
Electrical Power	...	3,00,000
Oil Mills	...	1,75,000
Miscellaneous	...	11,50,000
		3,42,25,000.

A province-wide classification of the industrial concerns which ave been sanctioned accommodation is given below :—

Number of Province	Number of Applications Sanctioned	Amount Sanctioned
		Rs.
Assam	...	...
Bombay	6	73,00,000
Bihar	3	55,50,000
C. P. & Berar	...	...
Delhi etc.	...	...
East Punjab	2	15,00,000
Madras	3	75,00,000
Orissa	1	40,00,000
U.P.	3	8,25,000
West Bengal	3	75,50,000
	21	3,42,25,000.

Besides the setting up of a full-fledged Liaison or chemical Investigation Department, the Finance Corporation should give immediate consideration to the engagement of trained economists on its staff. The British I.C.F.C. and F.C.I. have informed the present writer that they have been utilising the services of economists from the very outset.* The economists examine the applications for 4 assistance from an economic angle, give advice for economic matters and carry on economic research generally. The corporation should consider the appointment of an economic adviser or Director of Economic Research without further delay and take steps to constitute an Economic Intelligence Service. The entire absence of economists from the corporation's staff is as grave a lacuna as the lack of a Technical Investigation Department.

In conclusion we must warn the corporation against the danger of providing large measures of its assistance to the industrial concerns with which its directors and their relatives are directly or indirectly associated. In the past many commercial and so called "industrial" banks in India came to grief as a result of their financial stake in the pet concerns of their directors and officers. The public are highly 5 sensitive on this point and once their suspicions are aroused, the corporation will lose their confidence altogether. That would sound the death-knell of the Institution. In the circumstances it is imperative that the Corporation should pursue a very cautious policy in this respect and do its best to disabuse the public mind of the slighest suspicion which may be engendered on this score. Another danger that the corporation should guard itself against is that of neglecting the interests of the industries of the province where it has opened an office. If, for instance, the Calcutta office is found to cater mainly for the financial needs of non-Bengali concerns, ignoring systematically the legitimate claims of concerns owned and managed by the children of the soil, the latter would certainly have cause for complaint. I am not suggesting for a moment that the Calcutta office 6 of the Corporation has done anything of the kind. I am simply pointing out the pitfall into which the corporation, unless careful, may fall.

The corporation does not appear to have made a promising start. Judged by the number of applications made and granted in the cases of the British I.C.F.C. and the Canadian I.D.B. during the first year of their operation, the Indian corporation has certainly made a disappointingly slow start. In I.C.F.C. received 840 applications having definite outline and granted facilities to 133 cases. The figures for the I.D.B. were respectively 485 and 97. The Indian Institution's 94 formal and concrete applications of which 21 only were sanctioned compare very unfavourably with these figures. To our mind the reasons are, first, the relative neglect of the Indian Corporation to give publicity to its aims, objectives and functions, nay even its existence ; and secondly, perhaps, its limited scope and ability to adjust its methods of finance to the peculiar needs and merits of each individual case.

---

* Letters to the writer from the authorities of the I.C.F.C. Ltd and F.C.I. Ltd.

GOLDEN THOUGHTS FROM GOETHE

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., D.LITT.

Calcutta University

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the greatest European poet of recent times next to Shakespeare, was born on the 28th of August, 1749. Europe is celebrating the bi-centenary of his birth today and we Indians also whole-heartedly join in these celebrations. To our Indian sympathies Goethe appeals strongly for various reasons. In the first place, unlike Kipling the Imperialist, he made an attempt to bridge the gulf between the East and the West. Secondly, like ourselves, he was interested in Astrology. In his autobiographical work *Dichtung und Wahrheit* ("Poetry and Truth") he speaks of the Sun occupying the constellation Virgo and of the benign aspect it receives from the benefic planets Jupiter and Venus.[1] Lewis relates how when on one occasion Goethe plagued his mother as to whether the stars would perform all they had promised at his birth, she said, "Why must you have the assistance of the stars when other people get on very well without?" "I am not to be satisfied with what does for other people," was the instantaneous rejoinder of the juvenile Jupiter.[2] Thirdly, he was profoundly influenced by the writings of Kālidāsa as is clear from his famous stanza on the Śakuntalā which has become a classic. "What is not so well-known, however, is that it has now been proved from the manuscripts at Weimar, that Goethe made an important alteration, in his own masterpiece, Faust, in consequence of reading it." (G. H. ROOKE, *Meghadūta*, vii). Fourthly, the last words that he uttered before he shuffled off his mortal coil were "Licht, mehr Licht"[3] ("Light, more light") and these connot fail to remind the Indian of *Tamaso mā jyotir gamaya* ("from blindness lead me unto light") of the Upaniṣads.[4] Fifthly, Goethe's first meeting with

---

[1] For the information of those who are interested in Astrology, we give below the sāyana positions of the planets at the time of Goethe's birth : Sun—Virgo 5°, Moon—Piscis 12°, Mars—Capricorn 3½°, Mercury—Leo 29°, Jupiter—Piscis 26° (Retrograde), Venus—Virgo 26½°, Saturn—Scorpio 15°, Herschel—Aquarius 15°, (R) Neptune—Cancer 24½°, Dragon's Head—Capricorn 17°, First House—Scorpio 17°, Second—Sagittarius 18°, Third—Capricorn 25°, Tenth—Virgo 5°, Eleventh—Libra 6°, Twelfth—Libra 29°. For the longitude of the Dragon's head 2 am indebted to the Astro-Research Bureau (Calcutta).

[2] *The Story of Goethe's Life*, p. 18.

[3] There is a *double entendre* here. Owing to approaching death his sight was failing, so he wanted to have more light physically and as he felt his end drawing near he longed for more spiritual light.

[4] *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, i. 3. 30-31.

Napoleon reminds the Indian reader of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's first meeting with Harṣavardhana. When Goethe was summoned to Napoleon's presence on the 2nd of October, 1808, the great emperor said on meeting the great poet for the first time, "Vous êtes un homme" (You are a man) and when after an interview lasting for nearly one hour, Goethe left the room, Napoleon said to Daru, "Viola un homme" (There's a man). Our Indian poet was not, however, so fortunate as his European counterpart, for when Bāṇabhaṭṭa made his appearance before King Harṣavardhana being summoned by Kṛṣṇa, the half-brother of the King, he drew from the emperor the remark, "mahān ayaṃ bhujaṃgaḥ" (Great is this serpent, *i.e.*, libertine). In connexion with the use of the word "bhujaṃga") 'snake,' 'libertine' by Harṣa, the following extract from The Story of Goethe's Life (pp. 62-63) will prove interesting: (Herder says) in a letter to his bride, dated February, 1772 :—Goethe is really a good fellow, only somewhat light and *sparrow*-like. The author Lewis says in a footnote : "*Nur etwas leicht und spatzenmässig* : I translate the phrase, leaving the reader to interpret it, for twenty Germans have given twenty different meanings to the word "sparrow-like," some referring to the chattering of sparrows, others to the boldness of sparrows, others to the curiosity of sparrows, and others to the libertine character of sparrows. Whether Herder meant gay, volatile, forward, careless, or amorous, I cannot decide."

We quote below several of Goethe's striking sayings which are likely to interest our readers along with Sanskrit parallels in most cases, giving the place of honour to the stanza the English translation of which has inspired and edified Indian students for generations.

"Willst du die Blüte des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Willst du was reizt und entzückt, willst du was sättigt und nährt,
Willst du den Himmel, die Erde, mit einem Namen begreifen :
Nenn' ich Sakontalá dich, und so ist alles gesagt."
"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
Wouldst thou the earth, and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Śakuntalā ! and all at once is said."

E. B. EASTWICK.

In the stanza, as it stands, there seems to be a blending of 'Will jemand . . . Nenn' ich Sakontalá dich' and 'Willst du . . . Nenn' ich Sakontalá dir." I should therefore suggest the slight emendation of 'dich' into 'dir' and translate: I name to thee Śakuntalā and शकुन्तलाया नामाहं तुभ्यमाख्यामि सादरम् ।

The stanza may be literally translated thus into Sanskrit :

वाञ्छा यदि प्रसूनेषु वर्षस्य तरुणस्य ते ।
स्थविरस्य तथा तस्य यदि वाञ्छा फलेषु च ॥
वाञ्छा यदि च तत्प्राप्तौ यन्मोहयति मानसम् ।
अमन्दानन्दसन्दोहं सद्यः समर्पयत्यपि ॥
यच्च पोषयति स्वान्तं दत्त्वास्मै परमान्नकम् ।
वाञ्छा यदि स्वर्गभूम्योर्बोधने चैकसंज्ञया ॥
अये शकुन्तले नाम तव गृह्णामि सादरम् ।
सर्वं युगपदुक्तं स्याद् यद् यदत्राभिकाङ्क्षितम् ॥

This stanza has been translated freely thus by Tarakumar Kaviratna :—

वासन्तं मुकुलं फलञ्च युगपत् सर्वं च तद् ग्रैष्मकं
यत् किञ्चिन्मनसो रसायनमथो सन्तर्पणं मोहनम् ।
एकीभूतमभूतपूर्वमथवा स्वर्लोकभूलोकयो-
रैश्वर्यं यदि कोऽपि काङ्क्षति तदा शाकुन्तलं सेव्यताम् ॥

Rabindranath's free translation of the stanza into Bengali is as follows :

नववत्सरेर कुँड़ि—तारइ एक पाते वरष-शेषेर पक्व फल,
प्राण करे चुरि—आर तारइ एक साथे प्राणे एने देय पुष्टि, बल ;
आछे स्वर्गलोक आर सेइ एक ठाँइ बाँधा येथा आछे महीतल,—
हेन यदि किछु थाके, तुमि तवे ताइ, ओहे अभिज्ञान-शकुन्तल ।

"Unsere Leidenschaften sind wahre Phönixe,
Wie der alte verbrennt, steigt der neue
Sogleich wieder aus der Asche hervor."

Sprüche in Prosa.

"Our passions are, in truth, like the phœnix,
When the old one burns away, the new
One rises out of its ashes at once."

BAILEY SAUNDERS.

The idea is very common in religious and didactic literature in Sanskrit :

"न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।
हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्द्धते ॥"

मनुसंहिता २।९४, विष्णुपुराणम् ४।१० ।

मनोरथानां न समाप्तिरस्ति वर्षायुतेनापि तथाब्दलक्षैः ।
पूर्णेषु पूर्वेषु मनोरथानामुत्पत्तयः सन्ति पुनर्नवानाम् ॥

विष्णुपुराणम् ।

'Desire never subsides with the enjoyment of desires. It grows from strength to strength like fire (when fed) with clarified butter.'

'Desires never come to an end even in ten thousand years or a hundred thousand years. As soon as the previous desires are fulfilled, new ones spring up.'

भोगेच्छा नोपभोगेन भोगिनां जातु शाम्यति ।
लवणप्रातराशेन तृष्णा प्रत्युत वर्धते ॥—दृष्टान्तशतकम्

'Desire for enjoyment of persons given to enjoyment never subsides with enjoyment. Thirst, on the contrary, grows with the breakfast of salt.'

Cowper's* remarks on the subject are worth-quoting in this connexion: The officer of a regiment, part of which is quartered here, gave one of the soldiers leave to be drunk six weeks, in hopes of curing him by satiety. He *was* drunk six weeks, and is so still, as often as he can find an opportunity. One vice may swallow up another, but no coroner in the state of ethics ever brought in his verdict, when a vice died, that it was—*felo de se.*

"Der Deutsche ist gelehrt,
Wenn er sein Deutsch versteht."
"Clever is the German who understands his own German!"

This reminds one of the well-known anonymous stanza in Sanskrit according to which a lady extols the cleverness of her husband before her friend, saying, that her husband is very clever because others cannot read what he writes. The friend in reply says that her husband goes one better, because he cannot decipher his own handwriting. The stanza runs thus:

चतुरः सखि मे भर्ता यल्लिखति स तत् परो न वाचयति ।
तस्मादप्यधिको मे स्वयमपि लिखितं स्वयं न वाचयति ॥

"Alt ist das Wort, doch bleibet hoch und wahr der Sinn;
Dass Scham und Schönheit nie zusammen Hand in Hand
Den Weg verfolgen über der Erde grünen Pfad.
Tief eingewurzelt wohnt in beiden alter Hass."

Faust, II.

"Old is the saw, and yet its sense is high and true,
That Shame and Beauty ne'er together, hand in hand,
Pursued their way across the green domains of earth.
Deep-rooted dwells in both such force of ancient hate."

BAYARD TAYLOR.

---

* *Letters of William Cowper* (G. T. S.), pp. 36-37.

This reminds one of a host of similar passages in Sanskrit, the most famous being:

यदुच्यते पार्वति पापवृत्तये न रूपमित्यव्यभिचारि तद्वचः ।
तथाहि ते शीलमुदारदर्शने तपस्विनामप्युपदेशतां गतम् ॥

कुमारसम्भवम् ५।३६

'The saying, O Pārvati, that a fair form is incompatible with vicious conduct admits of no exception. Thus, your conduct, O beautiful one, has become a lesson even to ascetics.'

न तादृशा आकृतिविशेषा गुणविरोधिनो भवन्ति ।

अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् ४ ।

'Such fine forms are never opposed to sterling worth.'

प्रायो विरूपासु भवन्ति दोषा यत्राकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति ॥

बृहत्संहिता ७०।२३

'Generally faults are found in plain women, where there is beauty there are merits.'

It is interesting to note in this connexion that a later poet takes strong exception to this view in a lighter vein. Says our poet:

यत्राकृतिस्तत्र गुणा वसन्ति नैतद्धि सम्यक् कविभिः प्रणीतम् ।
येनातिचार्वङ्ग्यपि मे हृदिस्था दुनोति गात्रं विरहे प्रियासौ ॥ पञ्चतन्त्रम् १।२०८

'"Where there is a fine form, there dwell noble qualities"—this has not been said well by poets, for this very beautiful beloved dwelling in my heart causes torture to my limbs at the time of separation.'

"Die Zeiten sind vorbei!"
'Those times are gone by.'
Götz von Berlichingen.

Exactly the same thing is found in Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita, Act I:

ते हि नो दिवसा गताः ।

'Those days of ours are gone indeed.'

"Erlaubt ist, was gefällt."
Torquato Tasso.

'Right is what pleases.'

This is reminiscent of Kālidāsa's well-known lines:

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

"She is doubtless fit to be the wife of a Kṣatriya, since my noble mind is inclined towards her. To the good, the promptings of the heart are the sole judge in matters of doubt."

It is interesting to note in this connexion that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great writer on Mīmāṃsā, refers to the second half of this stanza in the following lines:

यथा रुमायां लवणाकरेषु मेरौ यथा वोज्ज्वलरत्नभूमौ ।
यज्जायते तन्मयमेव तत् स्यात् तथा भवेद् वेदविदात्मतुष्टिः ॥
एवं च विद्वद्वदनाद्विनिर्गतं प्रसिद्धरूपं कविभिर्निरूपितम् ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

श्लोकवार्त्तिकम् ।

'As in the salt-mines at Rumā or on Mount Meru, the land of bright gems, whatever grows is salt or jewel in essence, the self-satisfaction of the Vedic scholar is exactly of the same type. Thus it has dropped from the lips of the learned and is very well-known and has been stated by poets: To the good the promptings of the heart are the sole judge in matters of doubt.'

The same idea is found in the Mahābhārata:

यत् कर्म कुर्वतोऽस्य स्यात् परितोषोऽन्तरात्मनः ।
तत् प्रयत्नेन कुर्वीत विपरीतं तु वर्जयेत् ॥

'One should carefully perform the action which when being performed yields satisfaction to the inner self, and should shun all actions of a contrary nature.'

"Freud muss Leid, Leid muss Freude haben."

Faust, I.

"Joy follows woe, woe after joy comes flying."

This reminds one of the well-known stanzas in the Mahābhārata and Nītiśāstras:

"सुखस्यानन्तरं दुःखं दुःखस्यानन्तरं सुखम् ।
चक्रवत् परिवर्तन्ते दुःखानि च सुखानि च ॥"
"सुखस्यानन्तरं दुःखं दुःखस्यानन्तरं सुखम् ।
न नित्यं लभते दुःखं न नित्यं लभते सुखम् ॥"
"अहान्यस्तमयान्तानि उदयान्ता च शर्वरी ।
सुखस्यान्तं सदा दुःखं दुःखस्यान्तं सदा सुखम् ॥"

'After pleasure comes pain, and after pain comes pleasure. Pleasures and pains revolve like wheels.'

'Joy follows grief and grief follows joy. One does not have joy all the time nor does one have grief all the time.'

'Days end in sunset and night ends in sunrise. At the end of pleasure there is always pain and at the end of pain there is always pleasure.'

In this connexion the following stanza of Goethe will prove interesting:

"Hebt mich das Glück, so bin ich froh
Und sing in dulci jubilo;
Senkt sich das Rad und quetscht mich nieder,
So denk ich: nun, es hebt sich wieder."

Epigrammatisch.

"When Fortune smiles, I merry grow,
And sing in dulci jubilo;
When sinks her wheel and tumbles me o'er,
I think 'tis sure to rise once more."

E. A. BOWRING.

The metaphor of the wheel reminds us of a very large number of stanzas in Sanskrit literature, by far the best-known being the one from Kālidāsa's Meghadūta (ii. 49) which runs thus:

नन्वात्मानं बहु विगणयन्नात्मनैवावलम्बे तत् कल्याणि त्वमपि नितरां मा गमः कातरत्वम् ।
कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

'Dwelling much (on future pleasures) I do sustain myself by myself alone. So, O auspicious girl, do not give way in the least to faintheartedness. To whose lot has fallen perpetual bliss or unceasing misery? The state of men goes upwards and comes downwards like the rim of a (revolving) wheel.'

In the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, the authorship of which is attributed to Bhāsa, we find:

कालक्रमेण जगतः परिवर्तमाना चक्रारपङ्क्तिरिव गच्छति भाग्यपङ्क्तिः ॥ १।४

'The cycle of fortune revolves with the march of time like the series of spokes in the wheel.'

In the Mahābhārata we find:

सुखस्यानन्तरं दुःखं दुःखस्यानन्तरं सुखम् ।
सुखदुःखे मनुष्याणां चक्रवत् परिवर्ततः ॥
सुखस्यानन्तरं दुःखं दुःखस्यानन्तरं सुखम् ।
पर्यायेणोपसर्पन्ते नरं नेमिमरा इव ॥

'After joy comes sorrow and after sorrow joy. Joys and sorrows of men revolve like wheels.'

'After happiness comes misery and after misery happiness. (Thus) happiness and misery approach man by turns like the spokes in the circumference of the wheel.'

It is interesting to note in this connexion that Byron varies the metaphor and addresses man as a "pendulum betwixt a smile and a tear."

"Das Betragen ist ein Spiegel, in welchem jeder sein Bild zeigt."

Sprüche in Prosa.

"A man's manners are the mirror in which he shows his portrait."

The use of the mirror in such cases is very common in Sanskrit literature and the Kāvyādarśa "mirror of poems" speaks of the "vāṅmaya ādarśa" which means 'wordy mirror'.

Speaking of mirror reminds one of Heine's well-known encomium on Goethe:

"Goethe hält ihr den Spiegel vor, oder, besser gesagt, er ist selbst der Spiegel der Natur. Die Natur wollte wissen, wie sie aussieht, und sie erschuf Goethe."

Mr. C. G. Leland translates it thus: "Goethe holds the mirror up to—or to speak more accurately—is himself the mirror of nature. Nature wished to know how she looked, and therefore created Goethe."

To be concluded.

Round the World

Federal Constitutions and Social Planning

Professor F. Friedmann has something interesting to say about the above subject in an article in the Political Quarterly. The State has now become positive in character. It has to be run on the basis of assumption of vast economic responsibilities by the government. Where there is a federation, these responsibilities have to be taken over by the Central Government. Consequently either the balance of power between the centre and the units becomes impossible to maintain or the Central Government remains unequal to its responsibilities. In view of this, the line of demarcation between Central and State jurisdiction has to be wiped out and federalism superseded.

"Democratic federation," he observes, "has not lost its great value as a vital step from diversity to union. As such it may have important functions to fulfil, for example, in the unification of western Europe. But within the highly organised modern state, with its established minimum of planning powers and social duties, it is out of date. No flight to the judiciary can solve the dilemma. Taking the last fifty years as a whole, federal powers have undoubtedly vastly increased at the expense of state powers, despite strong resistance. The ultimate solution lies in the abandonment of the federal structure in its present form and in the substitution of increased and extensive functions of regional and local government. . . . The solution to the problem of over centralisation lies not in the duplication of federal and state machineries of professional politicians and civil servants, but in the utmost delegation of executive functions from the central to the regional and local level."

Professor Friedmann in this connection refers to the difficult position of the judges of courts who are expected to act as guardians of the Constitution that embodies the distribution of powers between the Central and State Governments. "There remains lastly," he says "the flight to the judiciary. Under a system which legally guarantees the respective spheres of federal, state and individual rights, there is no satisfactory alternative to an ultimate appeal to an independent law court. But the task of these courts has become increasingly impossible. In a democratic society they cannot and must not be subservient to governmental purposes of the day. This encourages a legalistic and formal approach to problems which are eminently political and sociological. However great the desire for impartiality and non-political approach, the court must adopt one of three attitudes. It will either decide in favour of the *status quo* and impede vital economic and social progress. This was the calamitous result of the many decades of judicial strangling of elementary social legislation by the United States Supreme Court. On the other hand, it may choose a dynamic and sociological approach. In that case its impartiality will soon become suspect. A distinguished lawyer in one of the southern states of the U.S.A., when told that a case was going to the Supreme Court, was recently reported as saying: "Do you mean our Supreme Court or Roosevelt's Court ?". . . . Thirdly a court may alternate between two types of interpretation, with the result of instability and vacillation. This has been the fate of the Australian High Court, which is swaying between a legalistic and sociological interpretation, especially of s. 92."

"Apartheid"

The Political Quarterly of April-June and The Round Table of June last contain each an article on the above subject. It should be remembered that this word more than anything else was responsible for the return to power of Dr. Malan and his colleagues. It embodied the policy or rather the spirit of the policy which they would follow if they had a majority in the legislature. An African word, it cannot exactly be translated into English although the nearest approach to it may be found in such words as segregation and separation. Until recently the word segregation was in fact used to denote the Government policy towards the Indian settlers and "native" inhabitants of the country. It was, however, felt that this English word and its usual African equivalent had not the force and the implications which people desired to have in Government policy in this regard. Consequently, this new and unfamiliar word was chosen and it acted like magic and won the election.

So the Government of Dr. Malan is now trying to follow the doctrine of apartheid towards the Indian settlers and other non-white people of the Union. It cannot be said that a cut and dried policy has yet been evolved by them to give effect to it. Nor is it easy to evolve such a policy in the peculiar conditions of the country. Total white population is two and a quarter million, Indian settlers number two hundred and fifty thousand, pure "native" population about eight million and Eur-African "coloured" population (opposite number of Anglo-Indians in this country) is about seven hundred and fifty thousand. In other words the whites who are only about one-fourth of the total population are not only the ruling community but are bent upon doing everything possible under the sun to maintain their exclusiveness and keep up their rule over the rest.

They think that they can maintain their white character only by keeping the other groups of population at arm's length. Hence apartheid. As regards Indian settlers, the Malan Government seems to think that this policy can be accomplished only by expatriating them to India. Compulsory repatriation has not yet been undertaken. But encouragement to voluntary expatriation is now being given. Every one desiring to come back to India is allured to this adventure by the payment of some cash. For expatriation on a mass scale however the consent of the Government of India would be necessary. We hope that will not be forthcoming.

As for the "natives," there also difficulty in carrying out apartheid is being experienced. The idea of establishing what is called 'Bantustan" is being toyed with. In this land the "natives" will be allowed to live their own life. They will remain confined to it. Besides, ultimate control of the whites over them will also be maintained. The projected "Bantustan" may not, however, have sufficient land to accommodate all these people. The exclusively "native" areas now comprise about 30 million acres and contain only 3,100,000 people. Where will the rest go? It should be remembered in this connection that even in urban areas the "natives" constitute 51 per cent of the population. In addition there are nearly 750,000 coloured (Eur-African) people. Their separation may first dislocate life in South Africa and secondly if they are to be *apartheided*, land must be found for them. Whence is this to come?

Evidently what will be attempted will not be total separation of whites and non-whites but the deprivation of the latter of even the few privileges which they still enjoy. On the political plane steps are being taken to withdraw from them all the rights of representation through Europeans which they had so far enjoyed. On the economic field everything is being similarly done to deprive them of all opportunities for employment as skilled labour. On the cultural front again it should be noted that the few universities which admitted them are giving up this liberal policy. So the whites must rule unhindered and unimpeded and the non-whites are to become hewers of wood and drawers of water in the literal sense.

But the whites may be counting without the host. They may have regarded so far the Indian settlers alone as political agitators and economic competitors. Consequently they thought that by instigating the "natives" against them, they would make their own position safe. But as the writer in the Political Quarterly who visited South Africa after an interval of a few years and noticed the change which had taken place in the meanwhile is constrained to observe: "There was nothing more striking and disturbing than the change in the temper and disposition of the average native whom one sees in the streets or meets as a servant in private homes or in offices. His cheerful, optimistic and long-suffering tolerance is becoming more and more conspicuous by its absence, and in its stead has developed a sullen resentfulness and discontent, an unco-operative attitude that is based on fear and mistrust. It seems that the native in South Africa is now in the mood where he is almost prepared to do himself irreparable harm and cause himself great privation and inconvenience if he can in so doing cause his European masters equal or greater loss and inconvenience." Let the whites beware. The worm may turn.

Freedom of Press in Britain

Political views of most newspapers and periodicals in Britain are either definitely Tory or at least anti-socialist. In view of this it was but inevitable that during the general elections the Press with few exceptions would align itself with the Conservative Party. In 1945 the Labour Party secured its majority in the House of Commons in the teeth of this opposition of the daily press. Naturally it left some bitterness behind and such labour big guns as Herbert Morrison and Aneurin Bevan used strong language against the Press. The latter described the Tory Press as "the most prostituted in the world." It was in fact believed in Labour circless that the so-called freedom of the press in Britain was a misnomer and that the Tory Newspapers were mere gramophones of influential advertisers and great proprietors who owned chains of newspapers. The National Union of Journalists were disturbed by these charges and demanded that a Royal Commission should be set up to investigate them and issue an authoritative verdict. Mr. Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister since 1945, at first turned a deaf ear to the suggestion but as the demand grew in volume he appointed the Royal Commission as asked for. It was presided over by Sir David Ross and consisted of seventeen members. It should be pointed out in this connection that not only the Labour Government but some of the big newspapers were also hesitant as to the appiontment of this Royal Commission. The Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail, the Daily Express and the News Chronicle which are the mouthpiece of right wing opinion in the country thought that there was no necessity of any investigation. That they were free and were not controlled in the expression of their views by either the advertisers or by the Government of the day need not be reiterated by any Commission.

The Commission investigated for over two years whether there was any financial monopoly controlling the press, whether the Government interfered in the expression of views and whether the advertisers had any say in framing the policy of the newspapers. The report of this Commission has now been brought out and it exonerates the press of all the charges. The Government doest not interfere, there is no financial monopoly and the advertisers do not control the policy of the newspapers. "The public may dismiss from its mind any misgiving," the report states, "that the Press is mysteriously influenced and controlled by hidden influence." "Pleasing the reader may seem more important to a newspaper than pleasing the advertiser, since on pleasing the reader depend both sales and revenue and ultimately advertisement revenue, . . An editor who thinks more of his advertisers than of his readers will soon have neither advertisers nor readers to think of," The newspapers are naturally happy in England today that they have been adjudged free by an authoritative body like the Royal Commission. But we believe the matter remains where it stood before enquiry started. The question is not whether the Government interferes in the expression of views by the newspapers. The question is whether the Conservative Government when it is in office gets the enthusiastic support of most of the newspapers and whether the Labour Goverment when installed is automatically attacked by most of them. The question is not whether one group of capitalists controls all or most of the newspapers but the question is whether most newspapers are financed, owned and controlled only by big capitalists. The question again is not whether the advertisers as such influence opinion and policy. The question is whether the views of the advertisers are the views of the capitalist-owners of the newspapers and they advertise mostly because the views of the newspapers tally with their own. No formal reply to these questions by any Commission is necessary. It is writ large on the wall. Wickham Steed brought out a book on the British Press more than ten years ago and he indicated there the amount of capital required for producing a newspaper. In fact a modern newspaper unless it is owned and controlled by some cooperative organisation can be produced only by big capitalists and consequently it will give expression to the viewpoint of the capitalist class. To stimulate sale it may humour the people on unimportant matters but on all basic questions of the time it will represent the class of people who own it.

The Commission has recommended the establishment of a Press Council of 25 men consisting of eight proprietors, four editors, eight other journalists, four laymen and an independent chairman nominated by the Lord Chief Justice and his opposite number in Scotland. The Chairman is to be paid and the Council is to act as a watch dog upon the activities of the Press. We do not know if the recommendation will be accepted and the Council constituted. There are already differences of opinion on this point.

The Nuremberg Trial and International Law

In the April issue (No. 2, Vol. 43) of the American Journal of International Law Dr. Hans Ehard, Minister-President of Bavaria, discusses the character of the law under which the Nuremberg trial was held.

The legal basis of the trial was the agreement between England, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union signed on August 3, 1945. It was entitled "Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis." It provided for an international military tribunal to be constituted from among the members of the four Powers. A charter was attached to the treaty as its integral part and it included provisions regarding the constitution of the court, its jurisdiction, the composition and competence of the prosecution, the rights of the accused, judgment and punishment and other such matters. The tribunal was not to be challenged either by the prosecution or by the defendants or their counsel. It was competent to try all persons who acting in the interests of the European axis countries, whether as individuals or as members of organisations, committed any of the crimes enumerated in the charter. These crimes were (*a*) Crimes against peace, (*b*) War crimes. (*c*) Crimes against Humanity.

The following accusations were made against 24 German nationals and six groups or organisations;

Count 1: The common plan or conspiracy. All defendants participated as leaders and organisers in the formulation and execution of a common plan to commit crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity, and were individually responsible for the same.

Count 2. All defendants committed crimes against peace. In this connection several Hague Conventions, the treaty of Versailles, the Treaty of Locarno, the Pact of Paris of 1928, and non-aggression treaties including the Non-Aggression Treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union were violated. These documents were exhibited.

Count 3: All defendants committed war crimes. They degraded the standard of life of the people of occupied countries and caused starvation by removing food to Germany. They seized raw materials and industrial machinery and removed them to Germany. They confiscated businesses, plants and other property. They exacted financial contributions. They destroyed industrial cities, cultural monuments, scientific institutions and property of all types.

Count 4: All the defendants committed crimes against humanity. They were responsible for murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts.

The main trial was instituted on November 20, 1945 and the judgment was issued on October 1, 1946.

After recounting the above Dr. Ehard proceeds to offer his criticism. The criminal law under which the defendants were tried was embodied in the charter and was dated August 8, 1945 and is directed against acts which were committed long before the promulgation of the charter. Further, certain acts which were so long judged as political or military conduct were now declared as crimes by the charter.' The charter was again promulgated by the victors and is directed exclusively against the vanquished. The prosecutor was again all in one—creator of the statute, of the tribunal, and of the rules of law, legislature, prosecutor and judge.

It was pointed out on behalf of the prosecution that although technically the charter was laying down the law under which the defendants were being tried, actually they were not new. For instance, that war of aggression was a crime was at least known to all people after the signing of the Pact of Paris (Kellog Pact) of 1928. Then again as to the personal liability of men responsible for the war, it was pointed out that although they were acting in the name of the state, the latter was only an idea. If treaties which made aggressive wars illegal were to be enforced, persons who violated these treaties in the name of their state must be brought to book. "This principle of personal liability is a necessary as well as logical one if international law is to render real help to the maintenance of peace." If it was argued that superior officers were protected because their orders were acts of state and if inferior officers were protected by the orders of their superiors, then non-aggression treaties would become farcical and world peace unattainable. But there are other objections which Dr. Ehard raises and they cannot be met easily. For instance when we are told that war of aggression was a crime at least since the signing of the Kellog Pact, Dr. Ehard points out that nowhere it was stated in that Pact that any violation of it would be punishable in the manner in which the tribunal was called upon to punish it. After the signing of the Pact there were many aggressive wars and many violations of peace but on no occasion the question of punishing the men responsible for these "crimes against peace" was raised. It is also seriously objectionable, according to Dr. Ehard, that the tribunal consisted exclusively of victors and it tried men only of vanquished countries. Lastly it should be remembered that if individual officers, particularly military officers, are not allowed to cite orders of their superiors as authority for their action, there may be an end of all organisational work and the military systems in all countries may collapse.

The French chief prosecutor explained the law of the charter differently from his Anglo-Saxon colleagues. He did not emphasise it that the law was derived from the agreement of the four powers. Every nation was to punish crimes committed on its territory. There was then no German state, the highest authority in Germany being constituted by the four occupying powers and it was these latter which constituted the court for the trial of the offenders. The chief prosecutor of the Soviet Union on the other hand did not recognise any customary international law and considered the agreement between the states as the only source of a law which would be binding. The French point of view is very logical. If we accept it, we are not confronted with any difficulty regarding the legitimacy of the court and the constitutionality of the laws it administered. The authority which created the court and provided for the law which it was to apply was according to this view a national one (not international). So the court was a municipal court and the law it applied was a municipal law. The only objectionable feature was that the law was an ex post facto law.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Bina Tikite—(In Bengali) by S. M. Banerji, Sanket-Bhaban, 3 Sambhunath Pandit Street, Calcutta. 1948. Rs. 3/-

This is a collection of 18 short stories in Bengali of which the first has given the name to the book. The miseries of life have appealed greatly to the writer. The good impulses of the young son of a drunkard—the Superstition of human sacrifice for the sake of a successful bridge construction, a superstition which lingers even in the 20th century—the frustration, usual and incidental, of a daughter of the priestly class in Kamakhya—the inhumanities witnessed during the Calcutta riots in which noble-minded 'busteewallas' (dwellers in the slums) were mercilessly sacrificed to the demon of communalism—the inconsolable grief of a childless wife, yearning for the motherhood—these are some of the pictures sketched by Sj. Banerji. Undoubtedly there is sincerity of feeling and the author succeeds in rousing a responsive echo in the reader. There is also the sympathy for the dumb creatures, expressed in the last of the stories. Most of the stories have grown out of the recent experiences of Bengal, of the famine and the communal riots which wrought havoc with the normal feeling of the people, already strained almost beyond endurance by the exigencies of war conditions.

The picture of Sadu Thakrun, the good lady who stood up against convention in order to serve suffering humanity, has been remarkably conceived and sketched.

We hope the writer will go on contributing in his own way to the store of short stories in Bengali literature.

P. R. Sen.

The Tractor and the Corn Goddess and Other Stories—By Mulk Raj Anand. Published by Thacker & Co., Limited, Bombay. Price Rs. 6/8/-.

In this fresh collection of short stories, Mulk Raj Anand reveals his usual gifts—imagination, humour, vigour, and an intuitive knowledge of his countrymen. Perhaps the best story is "Birth" showing poetic insight into the life of the peasant "The Two Lady Rams". "The Man whose name did not Appear in the Census" and "The Tractor and the Corn Goddess" are typical of the amusing side of Indian life. "The Prodigal Son" sounds the depths of pathos. In the "Lament on the Death of a Master of Arts" the writer reveals the indignation of the true patriot. Incidentally it shows that although he is not a Muslim himself, Mulk Raj Anand has studied other Indian cultures closely.

The "Thief" might have been omitted. If good wine needs no bush, good writing needs no crude sexual descriptions to enhance its value. Vulgar episodes and phrases jar on the sensitive reader.

Like most collections of Indian short stories written in English, the reader is left vaguely dissatisfied. To turn from the latest number of the "Strand" to a volume of Indian short stories is like sipping lemonade after one has had a glass of sherry. Perhaps more plot and less description are needed in Indian writing.

The price of the book too seems rather high.

Y. Mathias.

The Pursuit of Truth—By M. D. Japheth. Published by Blaze Publications, Bombay. Price Rs. 1/12/-.

This little book is a brief and excellent eulogy of the Mahatma and the Gandhian way of life. The author traces the outline of Grandhiji's studies, his non-violent campaigns, his constructive programme, his Noakhali tour and his assassination. He advises India to continue following the Gandhian creed, to reform herself first and then influence the world. Gandhiji's "Thoughts on the Gita" are also included.

Y. Mathias.

Alpona—By Tapan Mohan Chatterjee; Published by Orient Longman's Ltd.; 62 Pages. Price—Rs. 3/- only.

Alponas are decorative drawings usually made by women folk of Bengal on the floors of dwelling houses, verandas or courtyards by means of liquified rice paste. These decorations are usually made in connection with vratas, worship of gods and goddesses and such other ceremonial occasions. Drawings of similar character are also met with in the coastal areas of south and western parts of India where, however, the designs are made by dry rice powders often mixed with some coloured dust. In western India these drawings are known as Rangoli. The tradition of Rangoli or Rangabali can be traced from very early days (History of the Rangavelli (Rangali) Art between C.A.D. 50 and 900—P. K. Gode in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute XXVIII, 1947). But the Alpona drawings not only differ from the Rangali drawings the Alpona being drawn by means of fluid rice paste but also in their significance and appeal. This significance is apparent particularly where the Alponas are found associated with the Vratas. The Vratas are rituals performed by women folk of Bengal in the belief that the performance of these rituals will ensure the fulfilment of various desires that rise in their mind. Life is the motive force of these Vratas; prosperity and fulfilment of wish the desired effect. The most widely practised Vratas enjoin invocation of Laksmi, the goddess of wealth and abundance, Surya (in Maghamandal

Vrata), the Rain Goddess (Bhaduli Vrata), etc. And the Alponas drawn in connection with each or these Vratas show figures and symbols of significant appearance. Almost all the Alponas sprout in the form of some sort of creeper, the eternal vegetation of life, and as if out of this creeper come out the sun, the moon, the lotus flower and the objects of desire such as ornaments, combs, caskets, clothes and other such significant things. The shape of many of these designs may be traced from even as early as the proto-historic age of the Indus-Valley Civilization and together with the Vratas these designs give out an aspect of human mind which, rich in its imaginative quality, has lived through experience of long age.

Srijut Chatterjee's "Alpona" is a very welcome effort in making some of the Alponas along with the associated Vratas available to the English reading public. The author had his grounding at the great revivalist centre of Bengal, Santiniketan and has taken most of his drawing from the collection of Dr. Abandindranath Tagore. Dr. Tagore was probably the first to have drawn attention of the educated public to the value and significance of the Alpona drawings of this province and Santiniketan has made these popular among the cultured people of modern time. Sj. Chatterjee has very appropriately imbibed the spirit of both and his rendering as well as the interpretation of the Vratas and the drawings will be read with great interest. The notes added by Sri Taraknath Das will be of benefit to serious students and the drawings and get-up of the book will undoubtedly by enjoyed by all.

Kalyan K. Ganguli

Planning for Free India—By Dr. A. Bose, M. A., Ph. D. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta—12.

Unlike other publications, this brochure is written and published in the atmosphere of Indian freedom and supplies some up-to-date material regarding our agriculture, health and defence. Public men will find it useful when dealing with the question of national planning.

Call of the East—By Jal K. Wadia. Published by Thacker Spink and Company (1933) Limited, London and Calcutta. Price Rs. 2/8.

The author is a Zarathustrian commonly and, according to the author, wrongly known as Zorastrian. The book records some well-known facts of the Parsi religion which, in essence, are to be found in all revealed beliefs. Any one interested in the cult will find it useful reading.

M. B. B.

Ourselves

LATE PROFESSOR NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJEE

After a short illness Sreejut Nripendra Chandra Banerjee died in his village home at Vaidyabati. He was a well known educationist and an ardent congressman. After a brilliant career as an undergraduate and post-graduate student, he joined the Bengal Education Service and served with considerable reputation as a Professor of English Literature in various Government Colleges. When the Non-co-operation Movement was started in 1920 by Mahatma Gandhi, he was the Vice-Principal of the Government college at Chittagong. He threw up this job to cast in his lot with the leaders and protagonists of this movement. It is not necessary here to dwell long on his political activities. It should only suffice to point out that by his joining the national movement at considerable personal sacrifice he stimulated the patriotic urge of hundreds of other men in the province.

When he left Government Education Service, he did not bid good-bye to education. Later he served with distinction some of the non-government colleges in Bengal. In the Bangabasi College and City college at Calcutta and the Bagerhat College in the district of Khulna he was an example which hundreds of students in these institutions loved to emulate. Simple, unostentatious and unconventional in his ways and manners he remained in the worlds of both education and politics a lovable figure. Pettiness was beyond him. By his death this province has lost a citizen of sterling character. We offer our condolence to his sons and other members of his family.

* * * *

REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION

Since we went to press last, the report of the Universities Commission of which Dr. Radhakrishnan was chairman has been submitted to the Government of India and a gist of it published in the columns of daily newspapers. Until we see a copy of the report itself, it is not desirable to make any comment on any of the recommendations. On one point, however, we may congratulate the Commission at once.

It has not recommended any time limit for the abolition of English as a medium of instruction in the University stages. This should mean that until Indian languages come up to the standard, there will be no attempt to dislodge English. There is, of course, an unholy zeal in certain quarters for making Hindi the medium of instruction without delay. That will not strengthen the position of Hindi as linguafranca. That will only stimulate and strengthen provincial exclusiveness.

* * * *

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR HONOURED

On the 28th of August last, at a pleasant function held in the Senate Hall, the Bangiya Puran Parishad conferred upon Professor P. N. Banerjee, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., the Vice-Chancellor, the title of Vidyabachaspati.

* * * *

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

EAST PANJAB UNIVERSITY

No. 8592-8649/G

Dated 23rd July, 1949

The following students of the 1st-year class, who have been found guilty of using unfair means in the Annual examination of their colleges, have been rusticated for the period noted against each. They shall be eligible to appear in the Intermediate Examination to be held in 1951 provided they join a college after the period of their rustication is over and qualify themselves in every respect :—

No.	Name	Father's name	Regd. No.	Period of the rustication.	Institution
1.	Vishwaraj Singh	K. Harnan Singh	48/A vm- 66	One year	Vallabh Mahavidyalaya Mandi.
2.	Krishankumar Sharma	Pt. Achhar Datt Sharma	48/A bc. 31	June 21, 1949 to Sept. 25, 1949.	Baring Union Christian College, Batala.
3.	Dharminderkumar Parbhakar	Capt. N. D. Sharma	48/A bc, 73	Do.	Do.

NAND LAL
Assistant Registrar (General)
for Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA

The following candidates, having resorted to unfair means at the various University examinations of 1949, are debarred from the examination noted against each :—

Intermediate Examination

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidates	Institution	Year for which debarred
644	4459	(Miss) Omwati Kulshreshtha	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled.

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidates	Institution	Year for which deba
668	4483	Nani Shanker Shukla	do.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearing at any examination of 1950.
1395	4789	Kailash Chand Jain	Rai Rishi College, Alwar	Do.
299	5255	Nithan Lal Mathur	Jaswant College, Jodhpur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled.
6	1813	Banwarilal Sharma	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearing at any examination of 1950.
44	1841	Kanti Chandra Sharma	Do.	Do.
116	4366	Viney Kumar Sharma	Do.	Do.
155	2057	Keshri Mal Rathore	Birla College, Pilani.	Do.
234	2372	Dau Lal N. Mathur	Jaswant College, Jodhpur	Do.
260	2392	Jagdish Chandra S. Rai	Do.	Do.
346	2462	Shree Kirshna Vyas	Do.	Examination of 1949 cancelled.
319	2453	Prem Giri Goswami	Do.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearing at any examination before 1952.

Inter-in-Commerce

14	4389	Gopal Lal Khatri	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled.
60	2775	Shafi Ullah Khan	Do.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearing at any examination of 1950.

B.A. Examination

92	3402	Suresh Chandra Mathur	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearing at any examination of 1950.

B.Sc. Examination

19	5818	Krishna Behari Lal Mathur.	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled.
44	3456	Shivaraja Kumar Mathur	Do.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearihg at any examination of 1950.

NOTIFICATIONS

B.Com. Examination

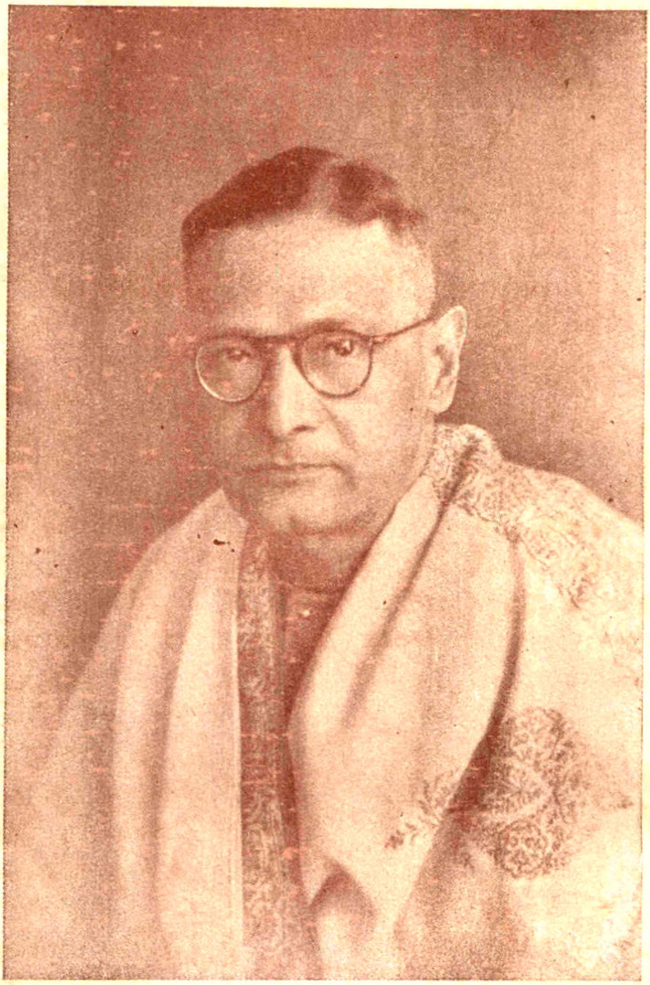
Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidates	Institution	Year for which debarred
187	4087	Raj Ranchhor Chand Bhandari.	Jaswant College, Jodhpur.	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appearing at any examination of 1950.
191	4091	Sampat Lal Joshi	Do.	Do.

LL.B. (Prov.) Examination

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidates	Institution	Year for which debarred
150	332	Madan Mahan Sharma	Law College, Jaipur	Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from appeariag at any examination of 1950.
340	565	Han Mall Khinvasara	Jaswant College, Jodhpur.	Do.

Jaipur,
June 24, 1949.

M. N. VARMA,
Registrar,
University of Rajputana.



MR. C. C. BISWAS, M.A., B.L., C.I.E.
Our New Vice-Chancellor

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1949

COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARSHIP*

F. CYRIL JAMES

Principal and Vice-Chancellor, McGill University

My first word, this evening, is a cordial greeting from the National Conference of Canadian Universities to the City of Halifax on the occasion of its two hundredth birthday, and I should like to couple with that greeting a word of sincere thanks to President Kerr, and to all his colleagues at Dalhousie University, for the generous hospitality that has been extended to this Conference and all the other meetings held on this campus during the past week.

It is hard, as we look around us in this city of Halifax, to realise that a few days less than two centuries have passed since that little fleet under the command of Colonel Edward Cornwallis dropped anchor in the great harbour of Chebucto-the Che-book-took, the great harbour, of the Mic-Mac Indians. It was a wilderness of desolation that greeted the eyes of the 2,576 immigrants, for Chebuctor had not previously seemed of much importance to the Government in London. Plague and sickness, soon invaded insanitary hovels in the new world (as they had often done in the old) to augment the high death rate that pioneering conditions and Indian tomahawks would in any case have produced.

Those early were not happy. The official historians pass over them with strictures, and discuss at length the augmentation of civic pride and prosperity which followed upon the influx of New

---

* The Presidential Address delivered before the National Conference of Canadian Universities, and visiting members of the Executive Council of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, at Dalhousie University, in Halifax, on the evening of Monday, June 13, 1949.

Englanders in subsequent years, and the permanent settlement from time to time, of soldiers (especially from the Highland Regiments) who had come out from Great Britain as a garrison.

Far be it from me to belittle the achievements of those later recruits to the strength of Halifax. I could say, in the words appropriate to Sir Christopher Wren, in St. Paul's Cathedral, "if you would realise the extent of their achievements, look around you". But I should like to add a word of commendation for those first immigrants who came out with Cornwallis—"the rabble of Cockneys; wholly unfit for life in the wilderness" as one writer describes them; "the rag, tag and hobtail of London that stepped straight out of Hogarth's prints into the wilds of Chebucto". Some of them, perhaps, were all of that, but the understanding pen of Stephen Vincent Benet in his *Western Star* and the sympathetic heart of H.M. Tomlinson, in many of his essays, have suggested to us that there might be worse pioneers in the founding of a city than Hogarih's Cockneys. They had even then known city life for nearly two thousand years and like the Chinese, they had learned to labour with more expectation of kicks than half pence. They were inventive folk and ingenious, with an independence of spirit that could not be quenched by privations or poverty and a sense of humour that is still as good an antidote to panic or disaster as anything I know.

If they had not come to Chebucto there might have been no influx of Loyalists from New England and, although their contribution has often been anonymous, I think that every part of that British Empire which was coloured so brilliantly red in our school atlases a generation ago owes much to their immigration and work.

But that phrase *British Empire* is supposed to be out of date. Universities, perhaps because of their great responsibility for the conservation of our culture and traditions, change their habits less easily than democratically-elected governments, but even the Universities no longer talk of the British Empire. At the great Congress at Oxford, last summer, the Charter and Bye-laws of our imperial organization were formally changed so that the Association of the Universities of the British Commonwealth might come into existence, and my second word tonight must be to endorse the welcome that has already been extended to the members of the Executive Council of the A.U.B.C. which is now holding its first meeting outside the United Kingdom.

The discussions at Oxford, which ranged far beyond legal details and constitutional titles, reflected the fact that our concept of Universities and of University education is changing under the impact of two world wars and the new forces of the twentieth century. The pattern of 1903, when the British Empire Universities Bureau came into existence on the initiation of the University of London, no longer seemed appropriate, and the new organisation was, in part, an effort to develop machinery that would help more effictively in our search for solutions to the problems that confront us.

This attitude of mind was not peculiar to Oxford. Some of you will remember that, a few years ago, we reorganised the National Conference of Canadian Universities for the purpose of enlarging the attendances at our meetings. We wanted a smaller proportion of administrators and a larger number of scholars and scientists, so that there might be profitable discussion of other things besides student fees, pension plans and the various aspects of University finance. Those things have not been entirely exercised, as they should be from any truly learned gathering that elevates its thought to the higher things of life, but we have been able to give more attention to the humanities, to engineering education, to the medical curriculum and to student guidance. Last year we even had some impromptu discussion of the relative unimportance (and, indeed, uselessness) of University Presidents and Principals, which seems to suggest that the desired reforms are not proceeding as rapidly as some of our members might wish!

In the United States, where the recognition of current problems is just as keen, the recent reorganisation of the Association of American Universities has, strangely enough, carried body in a diametrically opposite direction. After operating for half a century as an association of graduate schools, supported by the Deans of those schools and interested primarily in problems of research and scholarship, the A.A.U. has now become an exclusive body of University Presidents dealing with matters of finance, military service, and other questions of relationship to government. There is a determination that those charged with the responsibility for University administration should speak "with one voice" to the Government of the United States, and I seem to detct a unanimous enthusiasm for the idea that the Government should give the Univerities larger sums of money. I should, however, point out that the Deans of the American graduate schools (whom one of my colleagues has defined as the people who stay at home trying to make the University half as good as the peripatetic President says it is) are filled with scepticism. "We as Deans", they point out in their statement, "should envisage the possibility that the efforts of the Presidents will diminish over the years and that there will be a return to conditions which were operative in this organisation up to three years ago".

To me, at any rate the reorganisation of the Association of of the Universities of the British Commonwealth seems to fit neither of these patterns. It resembles the American programme in that it provides that each University shall be represented by its executive head—although I am told that in the British Commonwealth it is not always easy to decide who is in fact the executive head of a University. But the A.U. B. C. has nothing in common with the American aim of "speaking with one voice" to a government from which the Universities expect to receive assistance.

There is no one government of the British Commonwealth to which we could appeal, even if we attained that degree of unanimity which would enable us to speak with one voice. The Association of the Universities of the British Commonwealth, like the National Conference of Canadian Universities, is a consultative body, a group of men and women from widely separate geographic regions and compassing a great variety of cultural inheritances.

The A. U. B. C., however, resembles both the Canadian and American bodies to which I have referred, in that its members are of the opinion that our Universities are not perfect. Inherent in its Constituion, and underlying all its discussions, is the assumption that by free and frequent interchange of ideas we may find better solutions to our problems than those which would be likely to occur to any one of us facing those problems in isolation.

But there is a second, and more fundamental, assumption underlying the work of the A. U. B. C. Indeed the very word *assumption* is to weak to describe what almost amounts to an article of faith. There was expressed at Oxford a feeling which is, I know, shared by every one of us; a feeling that in this age, when political and economic nationalism is rampant in many parts of what was once the British Empire—and indeed throughout the world—it is imperative that those Universities in all parts of the world which are jointly the custodians of that heritage of culture which is the soul of western civilisation should co-operate closely and continuously in the task of finding satisfactory solutions to the problems that confront us.

This voluntary collaboration of many Dominions might, in fact, be called the latest phase of the gradual development of one concept of Empire and it might even be suggested that the Universities of such countries as France and the United States should be invited to join the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth! I personally should endorse the suggestion.

Even without that addition to our councils, the Universities of the British Commonwealth embrace great diversity of experience and tradition. The Universities of India, although modern in form, inherit Buddhist and Hindu cultures that are much older than Christendom and operate within the framework of an ancient, but vital, civilisation. Oxford and Cambridge, on the one hand, and the French-speaking Universities of Canada, on the other, spring from that period of the European Middle Ages when the trivium and quadrivium embraced the traditional pattern of a culture in which Church and State were blended into a communal organism, while the Universities of Pakistan have their roots in the cultural traditions of Islam. Scotland, after the time of John Knox, developed a new type of University, stemming from the ancient tradition but assuming responsibility for the education of a larger portion of the population, and this pattern (like that of Oxford and Cambridge) has been copied, with infinite varieties of detail, in the provincial universities of England as well as in the newer Universities throughout the Dominion.

Almost as marked as these differences of tradition are the differences among us in regard to finance and control. I suppose that I should be safe in saying that every University represented in this room needs larger revenues than it now has, but there are wide differences of philosophy in regard to the best method of obtaining them. Some institutions receive funds from the Church, some from the State, some from wealthy individuals and corporations—and there is sometimes, in our discussions, a tendencey for each of us to be suspicious of the methods with which we are at least familiar. The basic question of academic freedom control by Church, State or business interests presents itself from a hundred different forms if we study in detail each of the institutions in the Commonwealth, while even in a single country like Canada there are wide variations.

With all of these differences of tradition and relationship there is, of course, an infinite variety of University problems but I should like to direct my attention this evening to a single problem with wide ramifications which seems to confront all Universities in Canada and, so far as I know, all the Universities of the Commonwealth. That problem is the *provision by the University of the most appropriate form of education for a growing number of undergraduate students.*

Some of you may disagree with that statament of the problem. It has been suggested that the present demand for University education is a temporary phenomenon and many poeple have argued that, when the veterans have graduated, we should limit the size of our Universities and accept as students only that small portion of the applicants whom we deem worthy of higher education. That argument begs the first part of my problem, the definition of the most appropriate form of education for this élite, but (apart from that) there is every indication that, in this generation, the plea for limited numbers cannot be applied successfully by all Universities with any great expectation of success. In the first place, many of the academic institutions in Canada, and throughout the other Dominions, are creatures of the state. They came into existence as a result of the vision of the political community that they serve, and they are largely nourished by financial subventions from that community. Such institutions cannot refuse to consider the reasonable demands and aspirations of the community in which they live, and privately-endowed institutions would be unwise to attempt any such refusal since a University that is no longer in close and sympathetic contact with the community outside its walls soon enters into a phase of sterility that can only lead to peaceful stagnation or violent reform.

Whether we like it or not, there is a demand in this generation for the education of steadily increasing numbers of undergraduates. National Governments in Canada, in Great Britain and in the United States, have intensified this demand by the admirable policy of financing veteran students who are able to qualify for University entrance, but this policy is only an acceleration of a trend that was already apparent before the war. In every dominion with which I am familiar, and in most countries of western Europe, the *proportion* of the total population (in the appropriate age groups) which enters University in search of a degree has increased steadily since the beginning of the century and current discussions indicate a further increase. The *Report of the President's Committee on Higher Education,* in the United States, like the policy of the present Government of the United Kingdom, envisages scholarships and bursaries that would double the size of the undergraduate population in little more than a decade, while even in Canada we are already searching for some scheme by which large numbers of scholarships, on something approaching the D. V. A. standard, can be made available for civilian students.

As collateral evidence in support of this trend, from a completely different direction, I might mention the desire, familiar to all of us, of numerous crafts and professions to win the status of a University degree. Medicine and Law have been followed by Dentistry, Business Administration, Nursing, Social Work and Physical Education, and we may yet be asked to set up courses that will lead to an academic accolade for morticians, boiler-makers and acrobats.

Many problems arise in regard to the extent to which Universities should provide such professional training, and any University that is worthy of the name will examine each proposal cautiously (and indeed sceptically) to assure itself that the programme is one to which it can contribute a true education. A University is not a technical school, and we should waste our resources if we undertook what such technical schools could as well.

Each case must be considered on its own merits, and I shall not attempt a detailed discussion of the many possibilities. On the central theme, however, professional training has an even better historic claim to a place in the University than the liberal arts course. At Salerno, in the 12th Century, the student concentrated on preparing himself to be a physician. Bologna and Padua concerned themselves solely with the training of lawyers, and Paris existed primarily for the study of theology. Even Oxford and Cambridge were, in their origin, professional and did not develop what we now know as the liberal arts course until after the impact of the Renaissance had been felt.

Professional education has a secure and historic place in the life of our Universities, even though we can (and should) argue violently as to which of the newer professions are appropriate for inclusion, but the modern undergraduate who demands both an education and a certificate of professional qualifications in a period of from three to seven years is a new phenomenon. Time moved more slowly in the Middle Ages, when the idea of professional education first took root in Universities. Twenty years of "compulsory studentship" are said to have been necessary for the doctorate, seven years in the Arts Faculty (as a common background for all higher degrees) and thirteen or fourteen years of special study in law, theology or medicine. Such an arrangement provided ample time for research and meditation, on the part of both faculty and students. It provided leisure for community life and the maturing of opinions. There can have been few problems for Time-Table Committees and less question about the ability of the University to encourage in the student permanent habits of study and methods of thought.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not appealing for the reintroduction of twenty-year courses (which would rapidly quintuple our student population if the present proportion of University students to total population were maintained). I am merely emphasising the fact that the large, and growing, number of students who come to University for a few years in order to gain a degree that will help them, in some measure, to earn a living, constitutes a new and serious problem.

In the first place, the present arrangement tends to separate from education that research activity which has traditionally been regarded within a University as the opposite side of the same metal. The modern undergraduate has so much to learn in his short period at University that he has no time for research and, indeed, is seldom troubled with any thoughts on such a subject, while the professor (unless we can greatly enlarge the size of our teaching staff) is so busy teaching that he has little time or energy for his own investigations. You will notice, too, that I have used the word *teaching*. That, in a sense, is also something of a novelty arising from the same problem. Not so long ago, a University professor was chosen for his eminence as a scholar or scientist, and nobody worried much about his ability to teach. The student was supposed to learn for himself, under expert guidance. Today this philosophy would be regarded as heretical in many Universities. There have been frequent discussions in North American Universities of the relative importance of teaching and research ability as qualifications for academic appointments, and it is no coincidence that on this programme of the N. C. C. U. (and on that of the recent meeting of the American Council of Education) there appears the subject of training University professors to be better teachers. What, after all, is a professor for if it be not to teach the undergraduate all that he needs to know, thus saving him from the pitfalls of intellectual curiosity or the labour of working things out for himself?

Some of you, I hope, will recognise that for irony, but I am projecting trends which, if we do not fully appreciate them in time, may ultimately lead us to a situation in which our Universities will have become no more than a superior sort of school—its diplomas of greater pecuniary value when the graduate has to earn his living, but its training no different in kind from that of any other school.

This is a pitfall that we must avoid, and in the light of the growing public demands for higher education, I do not think that we can avoid it by refusing to admit all but a small proportion of the young men and women who seek admission at our doors. A true University is the mirror of the community in which it lives, responsive to the needs of that community and deeply concerned with all its problems. We must, therefore, find a way to adapt our Universities to the new needs without sacrificing any of those functions that are inherent in the concept of University education that we have inherited.

The challenge is not a new one. European universities modified their traditional pattern of professional education in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to admit the new humanism and, once again, they modified it further in the nineteenth century to admit the new scientific disciplines and research techniques.

The task of our generation is similar in kind, but it is no easy task to preserve the traditional concept of a University in a period when steadily increasing numbers of undergraduates register for educational programmes that lead to steadily increasing numbers of specialized degrees. How shall we preserve the universality and catholicity of the University—its broad responsibility for the conservation and enrichment of our cultural heritage—in a period of growing specialisation?

Many different types of University, many different cultural heritages, are represented in this room. Each of them has something to contribute to the solution of this problem and it would be presumptuous for me to offer any cut-and dried answer to the question that I have posed. I shall merely offer some suggestions that seem, to me, fundamental to the discussion.

In the first place, if we are to preserve the idea of a University, *it is essential that we should arrest the present tendency towards separatism on the part of various faculties and professional schools.*

In the case of the older professions of law and medicine which, in many countries, reverted to a pattern of training in hospitals and law offices during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it is now recognised that an educational programme within the corpus of a University provides better results. During the last few years, in Canada at least, there has also been a tendency to bring the courses for degrees in divinity back into the Universities.

This tendency (as well as the demands of the newer professions) may be due, in part, to the desire to enhance the prestige of a professional certification by adding the name and seal of a great University, but this is not the whole reason. President Conant, of Harvard, recently quoted words written by an Englishman one hundred years ago on this same problem which seem to go more nearly to the heart of the matter. "Both in the case of Law and Medicine (and one might today add other professions), there seem to be genuine and important reasons *for domesticating the professional study in a place of general culture,* under humanizing and liberalising influences, and with checks and corrections which the juxtaposition of different sciences affords, as well as for connecting it closely with a preliminary course of liberal training."

The basic reason for professional training in a University lies in the fact that a University "is a place of general culture", a company of scientists and scholars with widely differing interests but a common bond and a common purpose. To the extent to which any professional faculty or school attains complete independence in regard to its own affairs, the whole reason for its University affiliation disappears.

How are we to prevent these separatist trends? President Conant, in the address to which I have referred, suggests that gold is a powerful solvent of all faculty differences, but gold is not plentiful in most Universities. Senior Common Rooms and Faculty Clubs, if they are live institutions, can do much. Committees—the academic panacea for all ailments—can, perhaps, do something and a great deal more can be achieved by cooperative research investigations in which scholars and scientists from widely different fields work continuously together on some broad problem of importance to the community. These are only suggestions that each one of you can supplement, but it is apparent that every means to this end which is more than a superficial trick of formal cooperation for the sake of cooperation must be fully explored.

There is, however, an even deeper problem that affects both faculty and students. *A community must have something in common, something which is a bond of union, some body of knowledge and ideals which is shared by all the members.*

The thought immediately leads us into the wordy battle between the protagonists of general education and the fighters for specialisation, and it is likely that some valiant warrior will draw his sword to strike a blow for the humanities against the sciences. Both of those controversies have produced more heat than light. Much of the research work, and some of the teaching, which is now carried on in departments that come under the label of humanities or social sciences is now so technical and specialised that there is some basis for the argument, seriously advanced by a distinguished speaker at M.I.T. a few weeks ago, that engineering is the most cultural course now available to undergraduates at the best Universities in North America. As for general education, every scholar and scientist knows that the development of the human mind and the growth of knowledge both demand close specialisation—and those are the only functions of a University. There is no salvation in survey courses and little, I think, in "the great books".

Is it too late to suggest that "the proper study of mankind is man"? If we accept that suggestion, it is apparent that the arguments over general education and specialisation do not get to the heart of the matter. We have not had too much specialisation, but it may be that too many people have specialised on natural sciences that require the handling of things rather than people, because it is apparent that human judgment is not transferable from the physical sciences to social problems.

That fact is significant in an age when social problems—the relationships of men and women to one another—are of vital importance. Wars and international suspicions, conflicts of ideology, strikes and labour unrest, divorces and juvenile delinquency—these are but a small part of the long catalogue of problems in the field of human relationships and if we do not find solutions for these problems all of our scientific knowledge of material things will produce small profit for us.

Might it not be reasonable to suggest that knowledge of our own society should be common bond of all members of a University community? Should not every student and teacher be required to have a real knowledge of the social and scientific problems of his own age, and an intimate understanding of some great civilisation other than his own in order that he can attain some objectivity of view? Is not St. Augustine's *City of God* more fundamental to an educated man than Newton's *Principia*?

This is no special pleading for either the humanities or the social sciences. We shall need expert specialists in these fields just as urgently as we shall need physicists, surgeons, lawyers and engineers. As the body of our knowledge grows the intensity of specialisation is likely to increase, but should we not, as Universities, strive to see that every one of our students (no matter what his special interest may be) has a clear grasp of human relations within his own community so that this understanding may enhance the usefulness of his specialised knowledge and enable him to use that knowledge wisely for the benefit of the society in which he lives?

Such a common bond will not easily be forged. The ideal solution must be worked out in terms of new time-tables and new courses of study so that it becomes an integral part of University education. It may well demand courses and methods of instruction that are entirely different from those with which we are familiar, and it is certain that each of the varieties of tradition and environment among the Universities represented in this room can make a contribution to the final result.

Although there is no evidence that the world is consciously looking to Universities for leadership at the present moment, I am confident that if those Universities which still enjoy freedom of thought and freedom of inquiry can preserve their traditional community and catholicity of scholarship, we shall through our cooperative efforts develop a true community of scholarship and find a way to educate more effectively young men and women who will be better qualified to provide wise leadership in a troubled world.

KNOWLEDGE BY IDENTITY AND REASON

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
Calcutta University

In my article captioned "Sri Aurobindo's Theory of Intuition" in the "Calcutta Review" I made some comments on his view that all knowledge, in the ultimate analysis, is knowledge by identity and also on his view of the exact functional relation of reason to intuitive experience. Sri Nalini Kanta Gupta joins issue with me on them in his Editorial of the February issue of the "Advent". I have very carefully read his discourse. But what he says there does not clear up my doubts.

He raises the question: Is it that the very condition of knowing *Brahman* is to become *Brahman*? And he answers by saying that "there is no contradiction or incommensurability between knowing and becoming, between knowledge and realization". The main point of my criticism on knowledge by identity is that in every situation of knowledge the knower, *i.e.*, the subject, transcends the known, the object. Srijute Gupta points out that Sri Aurobindo solves the entire problem by recognizing a twofold power of consciousness, apprehension and comprehension. The apprehending consciousness, we are told, "sets the object in front, away and separate from itself, while the comprehending consciousness comprehends or embraces the object within itself as part of its own being." He further avers that these two functions go together and form one single movement.

So far so good. And I wholeheartedly agree with Srijute Gupta and Sri Aurobindo that there are two such functions of consciousness as apprehension and comprehension. But in Srijute Gupta's discourse these functions are rather oversimplified. Apprehension is indeed simple enough and is quite easy to understand. Comprehension is, however, complex. It means or may mean more than one thing. It may mean what is ordinarily called subsumption of a given content under a general idea or concept, or, as defined by Sri Aurobindo himself, that function of consciousness which is just embracing a given content as part of the conscious being. It is true to say that comprehension in either sense presupposes apprehension inasmuch as a content to be comprehended must be given to consciousness. Now, if comprehension means subsumption under a general idea or concept, comprehension is a phase, a very important phase, of most judgments we make in our work-a-day life. I say most judgments, because of the fact that there are at least some judgments which involve no general ideas, although in each of them there is an idea. The judgment "This is the Victoria Memorial," for example, is no case of subsumption as in the judgment the idea that determines the given is not general. The judgment "This is a bird," on the other hand, is a clear case of subsumption ; in it "this," the given, is subsumed under the idea "bird". But evidently a case of subsumption in the sense just explained is no case of comprehension in Sri Aurobindo's sense. And, if it be so, how can we say that our perceptual knowledge is just comprehension, in the sense that in perceiving an object consciousness embraces the former as part of its own being ?

Indeed comprehension at the psychical level is quite intelligible ; there the known partaking as it does of the essential nature of the knowing consciousness, to apprehend a psychical element is to comprehend the element as part of the apprehending consciousness. But the fact remains that, as the element in question is embraced as part of the apprehending consciousness, the apprehending consciousness transcends the element ot comprehend it. A part is no fragment, but is contained in the relevant whole. Nevertheless it is not that the whole becomes the part in question by containing it. A psychical element is doubtless a mode of our conscious being. But the conscious being is not exhausted in any of its modes. A conscious element always falls within a conscious whole.

Again, as I have already shown, and as Sri Aurobindo himself admits, apprehension is the basis of all complex forms of knowledge. So a conscious element to be apprehended must be given to the apprehending consciousness, which transcends the given. Here, of course, becoming is the presupposition of knowing both in the sense of apprehending and in the sense of comprehending. Thus we become angry and know that we are angry ; that is to say, our conscious-being becomes anger and apprehends and also comprehends the anger. We cannot, however, deny that both becoming and knowing on the part of consciousness postulates that consciousness transcends what it becomes and knows. Where is then knowledge by identity ? How can we say that in the situation under consideration the knower in knowing an object merges altogether into the known ?

If we push the analysis to the peak of spiritual experience where the aspirant realizes *Brahman*, we shall be hard put to explain ultimate spiritual experience strictly in terms of knowledge by identity. Even if we allow that the aspirant apprehends *Brahman*, he cannot possibly comprehend *Brahman* as part of his being ; for a finite spirit in relation to the Infinite is like a drop of water in the vast sea. And, if a finite spirit is accounted identical in essence with the Infinite, comprehension, in the sense insisted on, of the known by the knower is out of the question ; for the ultimate state must be a state of absolute awareness of absolute identity. How can we then conceive of the ultimate state of realization as knowledge by identity, which is interpreted in terms of apprehension and comprehension ?

In my article I analysed the so-called proposition " I am aware of myself," which is often taken to express our self-awareness. I tried to show that the form of " I am aware of myself " misleads many of us. Strictly speaking, " I am aware of myself " is no proposition, because it expresses no judgment but only the speaker's immediate awareness of his existence. So in spite of the subject-predicate form " I am aware of myself " is in meaning equivalent to " I am myself " or simply " I am " or " I ". In short, the point I try to establish is that our so-called knowledge of our conscious being and existence is just self-awareness or self-consciousness, not knowledge in the strict sense, although our self-awareness is very often expressed in a propositional form. Srijute Gupta says, " In seeking to disvalue the principle of identity as a fundamental element in knowing Prof. Das brings in to witness on his side the logical copula. Some logicians, of course, assert a parallelism, if not identity, between the laws of thought and the laws of language, language being conceived as the very image—a photograph of thought. But the truth of the matter is that it is and it is not so, as in many other things. However, here when it is stated that the copula disjoining the subject and the predicate is the very pattern of all process of knowledge, one mistakes, we are afraid, a scheme or a formula for the thing itself, a way of understanding a fact for the fact itself." I do not know at whom the statement is aimed. Nothing is further from me than to " disvalue" the principle of identity as a fundamental element in knowing. I have not yet found reason enough to change my opinion expressed years ago that every piece of thinking or knowing involves the law or principle of identity.[1] That is, however, another matter. The point at issue between me and Srijute Gupta is not whether knowledge involves the principle of identity or not, but whether knowledge involves the identity of the knower and the known. I dispute Srijute Gupta's contention that knowledge as such involves the immediate identity of the knower and the known. I think there is a confusion between analysis of a piece of knowledge as it occurs and a metaphysic of knowledge. Some philosophers, in the past suggested, and some actually asserted on speculative grounds, that the distinction between the subject and the object and withal the connection between them in the knowledge-situation show that subject and object are bottom ones, *i.e.*, proceed from the same source. But that is not to say that, that subject and object are in the ultimate analysis one enters as an essential element in every piece of knowledge empirical or other. We must have to distinguish between what knowledge actually involves and what it implies. What knowledge actually involves is an element within its structure, whereas what knowledge implies relates to its ultimate conditions and possibility. So Srijute Gupta has yet to go a long way to establish his point.

---

[1] *Vide* my Negative Fact, Negation and Truth.

I am at a loss to understand why he makes a statement which is not quite correct. As he puts it, some logicians take the copula as disjoining the subject and the predicate. For all I know most logicians, ancient and modern, are agreed that the copula connects up the subject and the predicate. In a proposition which is a judgmental sentence, when uttered, the terms that make up the proposition stand in temporal relation with one another; if written the relation between them is spatial. So in a proposition the copula is inserted to fill by its logical function the spatial or temporal gap, as the case may be, between the subject and the predicate term. The copula therefore does not disjoin, but connects two terms that appear to be disjointed.

Further Srijute Gupta insinuates that generally logicians make an approach to the nature of thought through an analysis of language, and that the structure of thought is conceived on the analogy of the structure of language. He opines that analysis of a proposition in terms of subject, predicate and copula together with prepositions seems to encourage one to discredit the position that knowledge is always knowledge by identity. And he brings a bit of his knowledge of some classical languages to bear upon the discussion. He tries to show that an infiexional language invariably points to the fact that knowledge is essentially knowledge by identity, whereas a prepositional language represents a distorted view of the structure of knowledge. I have a little Sanskrit, but not much of Greek or Latin. I can, however, say without fear of contradiction that though generally an approach to the form of knowledge is made through an analysis of language, yet the structure of language becomes intelligible to us only in the light of the structure of thought. Grammar therefore presupposes Logic. But Language is not on that score the replica of thought, although language is the vehicle of thought. Indeed in a full proposition, which is the linguistic expression of an act of assertion the copula is an essential element. But the copula does not express *any part* of the judgment in question ; the copula expresses the judgment as an act of thought. All this we indicate when we say that the copula is the sign of predication. On the other hand, there are some forms of the proposition, in which the copula and either the subject-term or the predicate-term are lacking. Yet, if any of these is a proposition, we have to posit behind it a complete thought or judgment. There are, as a matter of fact, one-worded propositions, such as "Fire", "Gone", and so on. Apparently each of these is a mere word. But their proper context and the mode of uttering them show them to be the expressions of some acts of thought, *i.e.*, to be propositions. So copula or no copula, and subject or no subject, or predicate or no predicate, a primitive proposition like any of those mentioned above stands for a judgment, which, if not the essential form of knowledge, is a vital form of it. The history of language apart, within an individual experience a proposition as the expression of a judgment takes different forms. So it would be arbitrary to say that, because a proposition is one-worded, the piece of knowledge behind it is knowledge by identity, or that, because a proposition is many-worded, the piece of knowledge behind it has some different parts. Obviously an analysis of a language *qua* language inflexional or other throws no light whatsoever upon the fundamental structure of knowledge.

In the end Srijute Gupta offers to help me in my difficulty in regard to the exact nature of reason. He again invokes the authority of his Master and maintains that reason, though incapable of reaching or realizing the Absolute, can have some idea or conception of what lies beyond it. But how? Srijute Gupta answers by saying that there are different grades of thinking. As he points out, a philosopher does not think as an animal thinks. The statement that an animal thinks it much too original for us to comprehend. Be that as it may. It is undoubtedly true that thinking in its so-called different grades must retain its identity to be distinguished from a form of consciousness which is not thought. If he suggests that reason purified and illumined can well have a conception of the Absolute which is presumably beyond its reach, we cannot quite see how reason, even when purified, *i.e.*, turned away from the sense-world, can ever change its nature. If reason functions with concept and if concept is based upon, and implies, analysis, how can so-called illumination of it, I wonder, smooth out its rugged nature. In fact, the term "illumination" is a magic word; it is brought in to explain which needs explaining. But magic only mystifies us, but does not explain anything. If we postulate that the Absolute is beyond reason and if we at the same time credit reason with some idea of the Absolute as such, we, like Kant, shall have to admit that the idea indeed comes about, but we do not know how. However much we may illumine reason, which as discursive is like a bull-eye lantern, reason cannot overstep its limits, although its illumination, if it is at all intelligible can quicken and intensify its proper function.

MANMOHON GHOSE—HIS LIFE AND POETRY

LOTIKA GHOSE, B.LITT. (OXON.)

Manmohon Ghose was born on January nineteenth, 1869. His father Dr. K. D. Ghose belonged to a well known Kayasta family of Konnagore in the Hoogly district near Calcutta. Dr. K. D. Ghose belonged to the second generation of English educated youth in Bengal, the first generation being the brilliant group of De Rosioe's students, Rajnarain Bose, Michael Madhusudhan Dutt, Bhoodeb Mukerjee, and Oomesh Chunder Dutt one of the authors of the Dutt Family Album a volume of English poems that won comtemporary recognition in England. As is natural there was close sympathy between the first and second generation of English educated men. From this second group amongst whom were Manmohon Ghose, lawyer and politician, friend of Dr. K. D. Ghose after whom he named his poet son, Monmohon Ghose's brother the brilliant orator Lalmohan Ghose, W. C. Bonnerjee who became the first President of the Indian National Congress, Rashbehari Ghose, another President of the Indian National Congress, one of the most brilliant legal brains, and many others. Among these Rajnarain Bose chose Dr. K. D. Ghose who was then a brilliant medical student and who was an enlightened follower of Raja Rammohon Roy's new reformed Vedantic religion preached by the Tattwabodhini Sabha, as his son-in-law. Between Rajnarain and Dr. K. D. Ghose there was deep understanding and at the time of the latter's leaving for England crossing the forbidden and dreaded kala-pani or black waters Rajnarain wrote four sonnets the first of which we shall quote,

Go son beloved! as pilgrim bold to lands
Beyond the stormy ocean's wide domain
Where Commerce, Art, and Science freely rain
On freemen blessings rare with liberal hands.
Thou art not tied by false religion's bands,
Her chains are not round thee thou art nobly free
Thou art not one that fears to cross the sea
And on the beach by her spell-bound stands.

Thy freedom I esteem though thy excess
I check oft. Go but still as ours remain
Be not like apes who change their manners dress
And language, of their trip becoming vain,
They England for their home do shameless call
And reckon mother land and tongue as gall.

We have quoted this poem to show that the wave of Anglicism had already started even with the first generation of English educated youths which makes that great and serene soul who has been called the grand-father of Indian nationalism fearful that progressive Bengal ran the danger of becoming denationalised and therefore of losing all link with their own traditions and their countrymen, a fear which was only too truly proved by subsequent facts. Dr. K. D. Ghose however came back from England with a total belief that it was only if Indians could take their place amongst the progressive people of the West was their any hopes for India's coming out of the slough of despond and slavery. By some Dr. K. D. Ghose may be judged as having been completely anglicised but the judgement would be superficial, by one who was in Rungpur when Dr. K. D. Ghose was posted their as Civil Surgeon it has been recorded that when Bankim Chandra Chatterjee started writing Dr. K. D. Ghose became his enthusiastic admirer and that in his house sat a literary circle who studied Bankim's writings. We have no doubt the early admiration which Sree Aurobindo cherished for Bankim which is apparent in the series of articles written by him in the Induprakash soon after he came to India was derived from his father, though his later acceptance of Bankim as the Rishi who gave the seed-word or Mantram of Bande Mataram which made potent the Indian national movement so that it could sever the bonds of foreign bondage, was perhaps derived from his grand-father. The same authority writing about Dr. K. D. Ghose tells us that his house was regarded as the Suez Canal where the English and Indian elements met. Of Dr. K. D. Ghose's patriotism we have abundant proof though this patriotism was of a deeply constructive type and one which was entirely free from narrow national self-pride which has in the popular mind acted disastrously as a clog to progress and has become destructive of the self criticism so essential for healthy growth. Dr. K. D. Ghose left his three sons Benoy, Manmohon and Aurobindo in England at the tender ages of seven, ten and twelve to be educated there. A portion of the letter he wrote to his brother-in-law Mr.

Jogen Bose after the latter had rescued his youngest son Barindra Kumar from the hands of his wife (Rajnarain's eldest daughter) who became insane shows the deeply patriotic motive which was always in the mind of this great father of great sons.

"The three sons I have produced, I have made giants of them. I may not, but you will live to be proud of three nephews who will adorn your country and lend lustre to your name. Who knows what the next generation will achieve and if I can make three products of mine to take the lead in that acheivement what more can I expect in the action of a life-time. Bino will be his father in every line of action, self-sacrificing but limited in every sphere of activity. Mono will combine the feelings of his father and the grand ambitions of a cosmopolitan spirit that hates and abhors angle and corner feelings with the poetry of his grand-father Rajnarain Bose. Aro I hope will yet glorify his country by brilliant administration. I shall not live to see it but remember this letter if you so do."

And then Dr. K. D. Ghose goes on to quote the opinion of Oscar Browning the son of Robert Browning about Aurobindo, from what Oscar Browning told Aurobindo when he met him after Aurobindo went to Cambridge from St. Paul's. "I suppose you know you passed an extraordinarily high examination. I have examined papers at thirteen examinations. I have not had during that time such excellent papers as yours. As for your essay it was wonderful."

Finally the proud father ends his letter thus,

"My dear brother do tell me shall you not be proud of such a nephew. I have sacrificed my all to produce him and no less ones and do you not think it your duty to produce another ornament of your country. If the future is to be judged from the past you may depend on it that you shall have no reason to rue the day that you separated a product of my brain - meaning Barindra Kumar Ghose, from your sister for your country's sake."

I have dwelt for some time on Dr. K. D. Ghose because it was the conscious training of a great father inspired by deep motives of constructive patriotism that made both Aurobindo and Manmohon Ghose what they are. As time has proved the letter is deeply prophetic and shows that an anxious father was closely watching the result of his experiment in transplanting these young seedlings whom he had produced, from the soil of their birth.

At the early age of seven Manmohon Ghose with his elder brother Benoy was sent by his father to Loreto Convent, Darjeeling. This early religious influence supplemented by that of the clergyman Mr. Druette with whom the brothers stayed in the beginning of their sojourn in England undoubtedly had its influence on the child Manmohon. His last work before his death is an unfinished epic Adam Alarmed in Paradise, in which the hero is a saintly Christian soul who deeply shocked by the violence and cruelty of man seeks to understand the mystery of God's guidance of human affairs which can allow such things to be. The spiritual influence of the snow capped Himalayas in shaping and giving fineness to a temperament highly sensitive to beauty of one whose poetic powers were to show such early and rare development cannot be overlooked.

Two years later Dr. K. D. Ghose took his whole family to England with the intention of leaving his three elder children, Benoy, Manomohon and Aurobindo there for their studies. His daughter Sorojini was then a baby and Barindra was not yet born, being born at Croydon, London, during the family's residence in England. Manmohan with his brothers were left in Manchester in the charge of an English Clergyman Mr. Druette, and the three boys were admitted to the Manchester Grammar school where they had their preparatory training. In the family of the Druettes the children were treated as their own sons, and when the Druettes left for Australia the children were at first kept in the care of old Mrs. Druette in London. In Manchester we find Manmohan making good use of his opportunities. Laurence Binyon in his introductory memoir to Manmohon Ghose's book Songs of Love and Death tells us that when Manmohon was admitted to St. Paul's School, London, he found him well read in the classics and in English literature. "He was well read in the English poets, better read than I in the Elizabethans and older lyrists. But what struck me most was his enthusiastic appreciation of Greek poetry, not so much the books prescribed in school as those he had sought out on his own account. Theocrates, Meleager and above all Simonides were his special favourites. I had imagined that an oriental's taste must of necessity be of the luxurious and ornate, and was surprised that he should feel so strong an attraction to the limpid and severe."

About Manmohon's rather meteoric first appearance in St. Paul's I cannot do better than quote his friend Laurence Binyon,

"Mislike me not for my complexion
The shadowed livery of the burnished sun!"

These words spoken as if from some spontaneous compulsion, in a voice low and thrilled that itself seemed to glow, caused all the class of school boys to turn their heads. At the back of the room behind the rest sat a young Indian with thick hair falling about his forehead and dark lustrous eyes. It was he who had startled us with his impassioned tones. Where had he come from, how had he mysteriously joined us . . . . . . an unaccountable apparition from an unknown hemisphere. The legendary East seemed suddenly to have projected a fragment of itself into our little world of every-day things and humdrum studies, disturbing it with colour mystery and romance. . . . . It must not however be supposed that the words of Shakespeare were spoken out of the blue challenging an interval of silence. The words came with startling aptness but they came in response to a question. I was then in the seventh form under the sur-master Mr. Lupton who on this occasion was reading with us the Aeneid. With the perhaps laudable aim of enlarging our vocabulary he would press upon our reluctant or apathetic taste a choice of poetical epithets, such as Tennyson would have employed to dress up his thoughts. . . . . He suggested that livery might be a more sumptuous Virgilian word than clothes or dress. Could not one of us recall the use of such a word in our classics? He paused for a reply expecting no doubt that, as usually happened he would be reduced to supplying the apt quotation himself. But the reply came and I think he was just a little disconcerned when the Prince of Morocco's appeal vibrated with such intensity of tone through the silent and astonished classroom. Its dramatic emotion was something un-English! We were not used to such things."

In London the chief feature of Manmohon's life was undoubtedly his friendship with Laurance Binyon. The two must have spent many happy hours sharing their taste and views about poetry. At the time Manmohon lived in lodgings with his two brothers. Irregular dispatch of funds from his father caused the boys much suffering. Once Manmohon who had grown rapidly tall and was delicate fell seriously ill. Still in 1887 at the age of eighteen Manmohon won an open scholarship at Christ Church and went up to Oxford.

About Manmohon at Oxford Laurence Binyon who went there a year afterwards writes:

"He had rooms in Peckwater Quad and thereafter going up to Trinity I found him sitting over the fire with a book ever ready for animated discussion which a friend from his own College would sometimes come to join. I suppose he subsisted on an allowance but he seemed to float in an atmosphere to which material things were strange."

That at Oxford Manmohon mixed in a literary circle of which he was one is testified by Laurence Binyon.

"I recall an evening in the rooms of Percy Dearmer at Christ Church when there was a large gathering chiefly to entertain some members of Frank Benson's company who were acting in the theatre. My cousin Stephen Phillips who was then remarkably handsome was one of them. Lional Johnson curiously small and neat was there. . . . . . . I can still hear Manmohon Ghose standing up to read a poem in the crowded room ; his long hair fell over his eyes ; as he read he detatched one of his dark locks and pulled at it with outstretched hand. Oblivious of his surroundings lost in the poem he appeared almost convulsed in the emotional effort of its delivery."

Thus we see that quite early Manmohon Ghose had started writing poems. In 1890 Blackwell brought out a small volume of verses in which four young poets had contributed, Laurence Binyon, Stephen Phillips, Manmohon Ghose and Arthur Cripps. For the cover Selwin Image had made an exquisite design. The small volume with its promising production at once drew the notice of the most select critics. It was favourably reviwed in the Pall Mall Gazette and no less a person than Oscar Wilde came out with high praise for the "Young Indian of brilliant scholarship and high literary attainment who gives some culture to Christ Church." Such praise from Oscar Wilde who was lionised in all literary circles in London was indeed of the highest value. Soon after when Manmohon went down from Oxford to London, Oscar Wilde not only kept in touch with the young poet but give him every encouragement. I remember the poet telling me that when he for the first time met Oscar Wilde the latter asked him the meaning of his name and when he was told that it meant the charmer of the mind Oscar Wilde remarked that the name was prophetic of Manmohon's poetry. About the time spent by Manmohon Ghose in London Laurence Binyon writes,

"I met him in company with artists and men of letters whom he had come to know through Lionel Johnson, Earnest Dowson and others of our contemporaries. At one time he thought of seeking a post of some kind in England but nothing came of such projects. Not all this time was spent in London ; he knew some of the more beautiful parts of England and of Wales and cherished the memory of them."

During this period of his stay in England we are told by Laurence Binyon that Manmohon felt as an exile in England. A poem written during this period and quoted by Laurence Binyon seems to prove this. In 1894 Manmohon Ghose left England for India. His first feelings after caming to India when he stayed with his maternal grand-father Rajnarain Bose was happy. Laurence Binyon quotes a letter of Manmohon Ghose which tells us of his feelings.

"I arrived on October 25, and have since been staying at a beautiful countryplace called Baidyanath, in my grand-father's house all among the mountains and green sugar-cane fields and shallow rivers. My own people I found charming and cultivated folk and spent an extremely pleasant time among them. This I think very fortunate indeed—to find at once friends and that of one's own blood, so congenial and interesting as soon as I landed."

But this first happy impression soon gave place to a sense of estrangement from his human surroundings. Manmohon Ghose found Hinduism a curious thing. He writes, "I never realised what mediaeval Europe was like till I came to India. It stirs a strange curiosity in one to live surrounded by morbid and corroding superstitions." In fact Manmohon Ghose never cared to go deeper into the religion of his ancestors. Opening out to beauty and truth as a flower opens to the sun he never liked metaphysics for its own sake. I remember once overhearing me reading his brother Aurobindo's poem *Love and Death* aloud he suddenly remarked, "What a great poet has been lost to metaphysics." That there was no inner harmony or understanding between Manmohon Ghose and his social surroundings we come to know from the letter to his friend Laurence Binyon quoted above, "Green things are indeed wonderful here but brown things (that is man) are absurdly out of sympathy with me, at least socially. From the outside I confess they are full of interest so that midst all this plenitude of bloom I often remember dingy London." It must not, however, be thought that Manmohon Ghose was a recluse shunning the company of his fellow men. His fine poem on London shows how deep and intimate was his sympathy with his fellow beings.

"And a sense of vast sympathy my heart almost crazes,
The warmth of kindred hearts in thousands beating with mine.
Each fresh face, each figure my spirit drinks like wine,—
Thousands endlessly passing. Violets, daisies,
What is your charm to the passionate charm of faces,
This ravishing reality this earthliness divine?"

That this sympathy was no romantic idealism bu a passionate reality with Manmohon Ghose can be seen from the letter written some years after his return to India. "You ask me how I like Calcutta? All peopled places are wonderful and this not the least so. After the silence of Bankipore there is a little stir here, a rumour of a great world beyond the moon, and ship-masts in the river." But in spite of his heart warming to his fellow men Manmohon Ghose feels in India a want of intellectual affinity and sympathy. In the same letter he writes, "Often I go at day break to stand and see the sun rise out of the mist and water drinking the silence and fresh air, the divine earthliness of morning. But then I get tired of all this and long for some intellectual excitement, to have someone to talk about poetry with. There are people of course and plenty of charming enthusiasm (I have never been among a race so sensitive to poetry), but there is no true understanding of things." Indeed it was this which was the tragedy of this sensitive and fine spirit who wanted true kinship, sympathy and understanding and not mere flattering effusion. Of silent respect, of admiration, even of adoration Manmohon Ghose had enough (we shall soon quote to show the adoring worship that his students bore for him) but what he craved for was the association of equal minds and kindred spirits to whom he could open out, from whom he could gather inspiration and receive helpful criticism of his poetry. Cut off from the culture of his own countrymen he remained admired but unappreciated. Friends were effusive but the kinship of like minds and tastes was lacking. Cut off from this Manmohon Ghose's poetry suffered from this isolation. Separated from the main stream of modern verse written by his contemporaries his poetry developed along the lines of an inner rythm which was all his own. When post-war poetry was seeking for freer verse movements, Manmohon Ghose was working out the most complicated and difficult rhyme structures, and verse and stanza forms which as Laurence Binyon says would have daunted most English poets. Yet Manmohon Ghose managed these with the consummate skill of one with a perfect ear for the inner music of poetry which is not to be measured by any external or mechanical scansion.

Within a year of his return to India Manmohon Ghose joined the provincial education service. His first posting was in Patna, as Professor of English, Patna College. From here he was transferred to Calcutta, but soon after again to Dacca. In Dacca he married Malati, the second daughter of Kailash Chandra Bannerjee. This marriage formed the background of the tragedy of the poet's life. Strikingly beautiful, noble and happy-natured, after the birth of two daughters, Mrinalini and Lotika, she was afflicted with a nervous ailment which pursued her throughout the rest of her life, with the exception of five short years which intervened between the first and second attacks of the illness. This illness was accompanied with paralysis of one side, loss of speech, and hysterical fits. The devotion with which for more than ten years the poet nursed his sick wife is without parallel. The dark shadow it cast on his mind can be easily imagined.

From Dacca, Manmohon Ghose was transferred to Purulia where his younger daughter was born. Here he worked as Inspector of Schools but in a year or two he was finally transferred to the Presidency College, Calcutta where he worked as Professor of English till he went on leave preparatorty to retirement in 1921, due to loss of eyesight from cataract. Wonderfully upright with an exacting sense of duty Manmohon Ghose devoted scrupulous care to his teaching work. I do not remember a single day when he would not prepare the day's lectures. It was only after he had finished doing so that he sat down to writing poetry which he continued till well past midnight. And, perhaps it was because he put so much of himself in the dull and routine work of what goes in our country as college teaching that Manmohon Ghose's class Room was transformed for his pupils into a magic world of poetry where such hum-drum things as examinations and mere academic studies did not enter. I have heard from some of his older students that even whilst teaching one of the lesser literary works such as Tennyson's Princess or a novel of Scott, by the magic of his voice, the choice of his words, the enchantment of his exposition he led them to the eternal found of all poetry. I cannot do better than quote from a memorial article written by one of his pupils Phani Bhusan Chakraverty and published, two months after the poet's death, in the Presidency College Magazine. "That peculiar power which he was never tired of pointing out in others which Arnold called natural magic, one which enables a poet to put into words the concrete sense of things and their secret life he himself possessed in an abounding degree. He described to us the sea, and sea sense and the sea smell and the sea air would be upon us; or spoke of the light of the tired moon of the last hours of night and we would feel as if moon-light had fallen upon our own bodies or called up dark cool forests when we felt as if we were getting a close intimate sense of the trees—that grew there in silence, At such times we developed a sensitiveness that oppressed us. I recollect with a thrill how in supreme moments we felt an almost physical disturbance, as if all things were melting and fusing within us, to reform into new and more radiant shapes just as possibly trees felt within them when they ache with the urge of new leaves and the coming outbreak of flowers. It was a shiver of awakement. But it was not a transient gladness merely; it stilled and lasted. Yet this was not the only gift we received from him, though this was the chief. There were others, specially that of information—beautiful things tellingly said, such as the riotous and earthly heat of old paganism and the nature feeling of the new; the perfect balance of thought and expression found by the Greeks and not again; the deities of myth and legend who have their own home beyond our sky and air; Hellenic sunlight and Celtic twilight and all the numerous details intimate and luminous of the ways in which the greatening mind of man has expressed itself through the ages in art, literature, history.... We listened therefore with delighted wonder and today in the mental images we have of Keats or Landor or any other literary artist we did with him, there is I fancy very little of the artist themselves and less of anything we ourselves have contributed, whilst almost every form or feature was one that was born of his imagination. It was an unforgettable experience to see him transmuting things with a sudden touch of his magic; making small shy shapes of beauty rise up to his stature; leading his subject rather than following it; or if the theme or passage was one really great rising or flying with the fancy of his author wing to wing."

I have purposely given this long quotation because it is the personal record in every detail of the influence and way of teaching of Manmohon Ghose. Other students give less detailed but as eloquent testimony. "This vast and varied world of European culture lay spread out before his mental vision, when Professor Ghose discoursed on poetry to his students in Calcutta. That is why they got something in his lectures not to be found elsewhere....A poet and classical scholar at the same time he had direct access to the heart of things; so in his classes poetry did not remain an academic affair; it became a living reality....His extempore dissertation were as enjoyable from the point of style as any page of Walter Pater or Oscar Wilde." Still another student writes, "The writer of these lines would much rather cherish the late Mr. M. Ghose as a creative teacher than as a poet and scholar....The class remained an abstraction to him a gallery of faces which he hardly ever looked at. He seemed while teaching to address an ideal spectator never coming down to a level of undue intimacy nor seeking by barren coarse loquacity an empty and superficial popularity....His teaching was an act of recreation; hundreds of his students have felt it to have been such though some stressed his grasp of an author as a whole, mind and art taken together and others took delight in his lucid exposition of a single work of art, a poem, a song or a dialogue. He seemed to go through effortless intuition behind the mind of Shakespeare and Keats shunning a display of mere book learning.....One felt at the end of the session that the man was greater than his work."

Manmohon Ghose's life during those years in which he taught at the Presidency College, except a brief interval of five years, was divided between his classroom and nursing his sick wife with the tenderest care. For this he gave up all social intercourse and in vain did Rabindranath Tagore, J. C. Bose, C. R. Das, R. C. Bonnerjee, all of whom loved him and felt that he was killing himself try..to tempt him out of his home and even advised him to keep his wife in a nursing home. They knew not that this man who had already pierced the material veil of things bore for his wife a spiritual love of unfathomable depth and saw in her who appeared to others a paralysed invalid with marred beauty a bright and happy spirit with soul-form of utmost radiance whom he celebrates in the two series of poems entitled Immortal Eve and Orphyic Mysteries. In 1918 the wife whom Manmohon Ghose had nursed with such care that once more as before she was well on the way of recovery, the influenza epidemic came and carried her away. With the passing away of his wife Manmohon Ghose seemed to enter into a fuller communication with his wife. An incident that will throw light on the life of mystic communion which Manmohon Ghose lived with his wife after her death is given below as related by one of his pupils.

"I shall never forget the day when I went to see my Professor after the Alliance Bank crash. (All Manmohon Ghose's money to the last pie was in this bank.) He looked the picture of patience and a wonderful mystic light was playing on his face and forehead... the very light that we saw on his forehead during the period of his last illness and which lingered there till his lifeless body became a heap of ashes in the burning ghat at Keoratolla.

One incident of this day though of a trifling nature is worth recording here. As we were talking of the bank affairs a beautiful butterfly suddenly entered the room and rested on the shoulders of Mr. Ghose.

This was pointed out to him and at once his face glowed. Then he told us that he had that very day received a spiritual commmunication from his wife. He took the butterfly as a symbol of a message of hope sent by his wife to buoy him up in his severe calamity, and he told me how when he lost his wife five years ago a host of butterflies came into his room. It is necessary to state here that the late Professor Ghose had an unshakeable faith in the immortality of the soul and in life everlasting. This was confirmed by occasional messages he received from his dead wife in moments of need. I remember one night he was relating to me startling stories of this spirit communications and of how his wife had come to him from the world of light to deliver messages he required. These messages in characters of gold were held before his eyes and he could read them distinctly. After he had given some other details I was suddenly startled when he asked me to give my opinion of it.

After the death of his wife Manmohon Ghose's health declined rapidly though with the death of his wife a new burst of lyric inspiration came. From 1903 to 1918 Manmohon Ghose was mainly occupied with a long epic in blank verse on the subject of Perseus the Gorgan-slayer. The poem is left unfinished though a considerable portion of the poem, (long passages which have been written and re-written and chiselled to perfection) remains. Between 1916 and 1918 Manmohan Ghose had also started a drama, in blank verse on the subject of Nala and Damayanti which also remains unfinished. After the death of his wife he never went back to these two works, though he started a lyrical epic "Adam Alarmed in Paradise" which he would surely have finished had not death intervened.

From 1918 to 1921 when the cataract in both eyes which had started earlier went on maturing Manmohon Ghose went on attending his college duties. When his eyesight completely failed he took leave. But he went on composing poetry though it meant his not only composing the lines and memorising them so that he could at a convenient time, usually in the evening dictate the lines to us for writing. This he did out of a sensitive consideration for us thinking his daughters would find it tedious to sit for long hours and write to his dictation as he composed. So sensitive to the feelings of others and full of consideration was he.

Manmohon Ghose's poetry is difficult to discuss because so little of it has been published. Except for Primavera, the early book of verses brought out by him in collaboration with Laurence Binyon, Stephen Phillips, and Arthur Cripps as a student in Oxford, in 1890 and another small volumes of verses entitled Love Songs and Elegies brought out in 1898 and published by Elkin Mathews, London; he did not himself publish anything else. His younger daughter published a selection of his works in England which was edited by his friend Laurence Binyon and has a valuable introductory memoir written by Laurence Binyon soon after Manmohon Ghose's death. This book has been recently republished by the Calcutta University to which body his daughters have made over the manuscripts of Manmohan Ghose's poetry as well as the entire rights of the poems so that the University would publish the poems. But unfortunately nothing so far has been done in this respect so that the vast mass of his works have not seen the light of publication.

Manmohon Ghose's works may however be divided in three stages, (1) Early poems—written mostly up to 1900 and chiefly lyrical in inspiration. (2) Perseus the Gorgan Slayer an epic in blank verse and Nala and Damayanti a drama in blank verse, both unfinished and written between 1900 and 1918. (3) Later lyrics and the lyrical epic Adam Alarmed in Paradise. What is most noticeable in Manmohon Ghose's poetry is that though form and content show development there is no immaturity in his early poetry. From the beginning his poetry soars with the ease of one to whom poetic expression was the very language of his soul. This is evident from the fact that one of the early poems written before his twenty-first year Mentem Mortalia Tangunt and published in Privera in 1890 was included in a selection of English Nature Poems published in several volumes. How mature already in thought feeling and expression the poem is can be seen from the two stanzas we shall quote below."

'Tis not that in our tears

Some happier life we crave;

Our happiest sweetest years
Mysterious moments have;
The sense of our brief human lot
Clings, and haunts our thought.

O then this pleasant earth
Seems but an alien thing;
Faint grows her busy mirth;
Far hence our thoughts take wing:
For some enduring home we cry
She cannot satisfy.

Dissatisfied with the imperfect and limited form of a life tied nature, he feels the power of the spirit trying to manifest itself through the veil of Nature and life and cries,

> So in the chrysalis
> Slumber those lovely wings ;
> So from the shell it is
> The dazzling pearl she brings ;
> Her glorious works she works alone ;
> Unfathomed and unknown.

In a poem written at about the same age we find Manmohon Ghose's brother Aurobindo expressing a similar feeling. What can the men the children of immortality be doing in this dim veil of tears which is man's life?

> Love a moment drop thy hands
> Night within my soul expands
> Veil thy beauties milk-rose fair
> In that dark and showering hair.
> Coral kisses ravish not
> When the soul is tinged with thought ;
> . . . .
> . . . .
> What a voice of grief intrudes
> On these happy solitudes !
> To the wind that with him dwells
> Ocean old historian tells
> Of the dreadful heart of tears
> Hidden in these pleasant years.
> Summer's children what do ye
> By the stern and cheerless sea.”

How easily Manmohon Ghose steps behind this surge of becoming realising himself in the stillness of pure being even at this early period can be seen from two sonnets, one on his Mother and the other on the Mother's thoughts about her child.

To his Mother

Augustest, dearest, whom no thought can trace,
Name murmuring out of birth's infinity
Mother like heaven's great face is thy sweet face,
Stupendous with the mystery of me.
Eyes elder than the light; cheek that no flower
Remembers; brow at which my infant care
Gazed weeping up and saw the skies enshower
With tender rain of vast mysterious hair!
Thou at whose breasts the sunbeams sucked, whose arms
Cradled the lisping ocean art thou she,
Goddess at whose dim heart the world's deep charms
Tears, terrors, sobbing things were yet to be?
She from whose tearing pangs in glory first
I and the infinite white heaven's burst.

Thoughts of a Mother

Thoughts of a mother blissful solemn thoughts.
Hush this is he whose breaths all being unbars;
My bosom supports him, he my bosom supports;
Last spectacles to support the ancient stars.
Hush the wide heaven gazes this is he
All things forbode him, herald of all bliss,
Without whom beauteous eyes could never be
Nor paradise await the lover's kiss.
Hush do not wake him with shut lids he lies,
Too tender with a moon-beam to commerce,
For whose profound and vindicating eyes
Immortal poets build immortal verse.

He for whose sake the world existence keeps
Lies breathing in the softest of all sleeps.

The Madonna and Child one of the mystic concepts of Catholic mysticism, the Mother of God, do we see this idea humanised and made real to the mind without destroying its infinitudes, without limiting its nature of ultimate truth. We have already pointed out that Manmohon Ghose's early education in the convent made a deep impression on him. Was the veil early lifted so that the outward face of things was loved because they revealed the eternal face of the ultimate reality behind? To my mind it is this gives a deep and haunting music to even his earlier verses. In poetry it is not the thing said that matters much, but the realisation which in its totality is inexpressible which counts and in the depth of this realisation which deepens the cadence of the verse giving it the lilt and murmur of the boundless sea. It is this that gives to poetry its high suggestiveness, as meaning within meaning is hid in the words said. Sree Aurobindo calls the poet the seer—one who sees. This sense of inward sight must be present in all great poetry. If there is thought and idea in poetry it must be visualised as a thing perceived and not merely thought. For the mind is but a reflector whether of the outward experiences of the senses or of the inner experiences of the soul. Poetry in which the intellectual element is strong must suffer in the ultimate judgment and its harmony will be a measured cadence scintullating without depth as in the poetry of Pope or must lack smoothness as in the poetry of Browning. But the true poet is a seer whether of the outer world of the senses or of the inner world of the soul where all outward things are harmonised and eternalised. It is our view that it is this soul quality in Manmohon Ghose's poems which will form its true value, as it forms the true value of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry.

When we compare Manmohon Ghose's early poems with his later lyrics we no not find the gulf which it is usual to find. At the age of twenty Manmohon Ghose wrote

Only ties

Immortal found can bless

Only in loving eyes

We see our happiness;

Only upon a loving breast
Our souls find rest.

and with his life he realised this truth. For him love was no thralldom in the senses prisoning mesh. Fate as if in challenge, offered him a beautlful wife, all that the eye could desire, but before he could breathe the physical essence of this lovely flower that life gave him, it lay blasted by unforseen storms. But the poet's heart undaunted perceived the immortal essence behind the physical form and an union which for others would have been snapped for him grew apace till between Manmohon Ghose and his beloved wife there grew that mystic love which we have but once before in literature the love of Dante and Beatrice. When death completed the physical havoc wrought by illness we have seen how the poet lived in mystic communication with his wife, how butterflies came as messengers of solace and love, how in golden letters were flashed messages much needed by the poet. In the poems enlitled Orphic Mysteries we get enshrined story of the mystic relation between the poet and his wife after his wife's death. It must not however be thought that the veil was withdrawn suddenly. It is the very human-ness of the poems sounding the different chords of doubt uncertainty and belief which makes the poems so convincingly real. Thus in the first five poems the sense of inconsolabe sorrow, of loss and separation are uppermost. And though the poet voices his doubt that death is a total nescience,

The great sky keeps its solemn blue ;
Fresh earth is wildly fair.
Can all things be and I and you
She nothing she nowhere,

yet when in the Rider on the White Horse death actually carries her away it seems that the separation is complete :

After the rider black
I peer and sigh ;
After the phantom steem
I strain with anxious head,
Heart-sick and lonely.

Into the storm I peer
Only the wind I hear
The rain see only.

In the Dew drop we get the poet's realisation that beyond the rave and fret of the waters of life is that eternal harour to which is bourne all that is most precious to us when one's ship of life seems to have foundered in death,

There are the lost joys of my life sunk beyond rave and fret
There are the souls of dreams unflowered and the roses of regret
There is the sunken dreadful gold of the once that might have been
Shipwrecked memory anchors there, and my dead thoughts there are green.

yet he can but see her with dismay bourne away and heart-sick cry to her to come back:

Thou with the freshness and the foam art glorying bourne away,
I mid wreck and driftwood grope and dally with all dismay,
Come back tremulous heart I sob, heart's bliss, come back I cry,
Only the solemn estacsy of waters makes reply.

But gradually comes the realisation that the separation which had seemed so irrevokable and absolute is indeed but in seeming

Yes through my earth
I feel thy shadowy birth
In at each spiritual sense
Struggle of thy new beauty; in surprise
Reel at a hint of those now angel eyes;
And for thy smile in dearth
Of sweetness so transcendent of its worth,
To be delivered yearn with pain intense.

And anon the certainty grows in the Afterglow,

She is here to my wild heart I murmur:
I repeat it is she, it is she,
But my wild heart growing no firmer
Cries sadly it cannot be.
O my heart, my wild heart I answer,
Thy doubtings to certainty hush.
How else could that beautiful dancer
Hope through my arteries rush.

See hope hath her lantern supplied thee
And memory hers from behind
She is standing is smiling beside thee
She touches thee heart art thou blind.
Thy candle of fantasy give me.
O give me the the lamplight of dream!
Her sweet face her figure believe me
Heart, my heart on thy wild eyes shall stream.
She is here she but waits for our greeting
O strain to clasp her through air.
Why wildly my heart art thou beating
With the hope that consumes despair.

And at last in the Black Swallow-tail Butterfly the butterfly who is the soul's own sister comes with the message that his dead love awaits him with wings furled till they can both fly in the soul's voyage together:

You too rest, oh my dead love, upon wings immortal alit
Here in the old sweet garden that was our life to sit
Invisible folded up ; you cannot and will not flit.

Till the breeze that is God and the morning awake up to soar together

Through other gardens of unknown time and God's eternal weather

Since life is the soul's vast voyage and death but a moment's tether.

Unalighting lost in repose, the glorious worlds that roll

Each and all I saw in a flash to a winged thing ensoul

Our earth too a moth-like creature that hovers on either pole.

Manmohon Ghose's poems show exquisite realisation and deep emotion being also rich in those qualities which we associate with great poetry. The jewelled perfection of his poetic style, his chiselled phrases, the suggestive beauty of his images makes him pre-eminently the poet's poet, and when the time for a proper judging of contemporary verse comes Manmohon Ghose in spite of his unfulfilled poetic genius will undoubtedly take his place in the front rank of contemporary poets.

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

(II)

THE CHINESE

From very early days especially after the beginning of the Christian era India came in contact with the Yellow race of China who once dominated the Asiatic seas. The question of the migration of vigorous races from Mongolia, the Pamir, Tibet and South-China in the Prehistoric ages is not surely the subject of our discussion here. The coming of the Round-headed Pamirians and the Uttara Kurus (if they came from Mongolia) has not at all any maritime bearing in the history of India. Likewise, any migration from Puranic Kimpurusa (Tibet?) could not be of any maritime importance.

The earlier route between India and China wound through the sandy and barren tracts of Turkesthan. This route was followed by the great Chinese pilgrims like H. Tsang and Fa Hien. In the days of the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy the silks[1] and other delicate commodities from China were exported to India by this very prehistoric route. Now, we have such evidences which will prove that the people of China also poured in large numbers in India through the North-Eastern routes. Thus, in the Mahābhārata it is related that great king Bhagadatta met against the Pāṇdavas with his Chinese and Kirāta[2] hordes in the plain of Kurukṣetra. The Kirātas have been identified with the Tibeto-Burman hill-tribes of Assam.

In the beginning of the Christian era much emphasis was rendered upon the sea-route *via* Kra (the Takkolam of the Greeks) in the Malay peninsula between India and China for the purpose of closer intercourse. In the 4th century A.D. Fa Hien went to Ceylon and Java by getting aboard a ship in Tamralipta. From Java he voyaged to Canton (413 A.D.) in a merchant vessel which had many Hindu traders on board. In the same period the Kasmirian ascetic prince Guṇaverman proceeded from Java to China by sailing in a boat, the owner of which was a Hindu named Nandi. Similarly, many other Chinese devotees like I-Tsing and Seng Chi came in India through the sea-route.

---

[1] Kautilya speaks about "China paṭṭa" *i.e.*, the Chinese silk.

[2] The Kirrhadoi of the Greek authors.

We have direct evidences which will prove that the port of Kra in the Malay peninsula formed an important centre of the Indian, Chinese, Arabian and African trade in the ancient and the mediaeval days. Al Masudi in the "Meadows of Gold" (943 A.D.) says that the port of Kalah (Kra) served as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries, Arabia and China. The Indian commercial navies were visiting this centre from far earlier days as it can be inferred from the accounts of the Periplus and the writings of Ptolemy.

Not only the Chinese were the commercial aggressors in the Indian and in the Greater Indian trade, but also the Hinduised and Buddhist traders of the Malay peninsula, San-Fo-Tsi (the Sailendra empire in Sumatra), Java, Borneo, Philippines and Champa carried on business in the Chinese ports of Canton, Hengchu and Ming Chu, in the ancient and in the Mediaeval days. The Cholas and the ancient Bengalees also maintained political and commercial relations with the empire of the Devaputras. According to the Chinese historian Ma Twa Lin, King Lo Cha Lo Cha (Rājarāja according to Cerini) of Chulien (Chola) sent an embasay to China in 1015 A.D. According to Sung Shih the Chola kings Shih-Li-Lo-Cha-Yin-To-Lo-Chu-Lo and Ti-Wa-Kalo sent embassies with tribute to China in A.D. 1033 and A.D. 1077 respectively. The first long name has been restored as Sri Rajendra Chola by Aiyangar. A very curious thing which can be noted here, is this that the great Chola Gangaikonda successfully warred against the Sailendras and snatched Kedāh (Kiḍāḍam or ancient Kaṭāha). It might not be, however, at all impossible that the ambition of Rājendra Chola was not only limited in the idea of the acquisition of the Bay of Bengal but also in the hope of monopolising the Chinese trade in the Indonesian waters.

Now, on important grounds it may be surmised, probably not incorrectly, that the relation between China and the Eastern archipelago was in some way similar to the relation which existed between Persia and the Hellenic states in the more ancient days. The encroachment of the Chinese in the Indianised states in the Far-East was the living factor, which functioned behind the national and the anti-national policies of the Easterners. In the 3rd century B.C. when Aśoka was busy for the mental upliftment of the people of Jambudvīpa, Emperor Cho Howang Ti of China, who began the building activity of the Great Wall to barrier the oncoming ruthless Mongols, tried to subjugate the Yieu of North Indo-China. From this time onwards the Chinese emperors always tried to occupy the greater part of Champa and Cambodia although they were not always successful.

After summing up the general history of South-East Asia we understand that in some respect the emperors of China enjoyed the privilege of being the natural protector and guardian of the various islands and peninsular states of the Far-East. We learn from the Chinese annals that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the Tenth century A.D. From the history of the Sung dynasty we learn that being unable to cope with the invading navies of Cho P'o (Java) a responsible ambassador of San Fo Tsi requested a Chinese emperor to declare San Fo Tsi his protectorate.

The Chinese influence was also felt in the Hindu colony of Borneo. From Chinese annals it is known that Hiang Ta, king of Puni (Borneo) in 977 A.D. sent the first embasay to China. During this time the great Hindu influence in Borneo is testified by the interesting accounts of Chau Ju Kua, according to which the civilised people of this large island worshipped the Buddha and possessed unusual skill in arithmetic and book keeping. In A.D. 1371 Ma Mo Sha, king of Puni sent a high official to the Chinese emperor. The history of the Ming dynasty tells that the kingdom of Puni from the 15th century A.D. showed total allegiance to China.[1]

The kingdom of Malayu in Sumatra which rose after the fall of the Śailendras sent envoys to China by showing allegiance in 11th and 13th century A.D. The Chinese annals tell that Chinese general Yi K'o Musu showed his appearance in the Indonesian waters to fight against the Javanese ruler Jayakatong[2] in 1293 A.D. The king of Malayu sent his son (or younger brother) in token of his allegiance.[1]

---

[1] Groensveldt—Notes, pp. 110-115. Tañjugpura in West Borneo was ruled by Java for a long time. The latter for many years enjoyed large tributes of camphor sent from Borneo, who was released from this burden by the emperor of China.

[2] The tactless ruler Kritaragara *alias* Siva-Buddha incurred the hostility of the Chinese emperor Kublai Khan. The latter sent troops to punish the Javanese monarch who was now, however, the rebel fudatory Jayakatong (Kritanagara being dead). Both

It is further known from the Chinese accounts that a war between Malayu and Siam in the 13th century was stopped by an order of the Chinese emperor sent to Siam. Now, according to Dr. R. C. Mazumdar this evidently shows that sometime anterior to 1295 A. D. Malayu had sought protection of China, and the latter forced Siam to promise that it would abstain from further hostilities against Malayu.

Although the Chinese influence was in many a times counteracted by the vigorous and the ambitious rulers of Java, the islands of the Eastern archipelago were on the whole subjugated by the ancient sceptre of China. This fact is also borne out remarkably by the accounts of Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller, according to whom seven out of eight kings of "Java the less" (Sumatra), declared themselves subjects of the Chinese emperor Kublai Khan. It was during the reign of Kublai Khan that the Chinese supremacy in the Far-East was swept away by the ambitious rulers of Java. Marco Polo undoubtedly visited Sumatra before this eclipse of Chinese authority. The power of China was, however, effectively felt in Sumatra and in the adjoining islands long after, in the beginning of the 15th century, when again (1413 A. D.) the Chinese war-vessels began to sail in the Sumatran waters.

The introduction of the Chinese junks in the Indian Seas is marvellously borne out by the Bengali manuscripts of the early mediaeval period. Thus, in the famous "Chaṇḍikāvya" of Kavikaṅkan Mukundarāṃ (pp. 195-202) there is a reference of "Jaṅgadingas", which were undoubtedly the Chinese vessels called "Junk" as it was first held by Dr. T. C. Das Gupta. In a remarkable verse of the Maṅgal Kāvya it is told that the merchants of the different places of India regularly sailed their Janga dingas for the great port of Saptagrām, which was near Triveni.[2] This piece of important

---

Jayakatong and the Mongal general of Kublai Khan were outwitted by the Machiavellian tactics of Raden Vijaya *alias* Kṛitarajasa, the nephew of the deceased king Kritanagara. The prince being at last victorious founded new kingdom in Majapahit (Tikta vilva) which lasted gloriously for some centuries more up till the Arab invasions.

[1] The eight kingdoms were Ferlec, Basma, Samara, Dragonian, Lambri, Fansur etc.

[2] Kaliṅga Trailaṅga Aṅga Vaṅga Karnāṭ
Mahendra Magadh Mahārāṣṭra Gujrāṭ
****

literary evidence reveals the intensity of Chinese influence upon the art of Indian ship-building. It is beyond doubt that often the Indian shipbuilders reared up in their dock-yards vessels in imitation of the Chinese junks. Another type of Chinese ships, which were popularised in India was, perhaps, the "Sampans".. This name is even today extensively used in Chittagong and Arakan to denote any sea-going vessel or boat.

Now, after our short discussion about the Chinese we come to the conslusion that, the latter came in a very close relation with ancient India. In the last part of the 13th century A D. when Kublai Khan sent his navy to invade Java probably the Chinese authority was at the highest pitch in the scattered islands of the Far-East. But after the defeat which the great Khan sustained from the hands of Kritarajasa the Chinese supremacy was at the wane though temporarily it attained a partial revival in the beginning of the 15th century. The real intentions of the Chinese in their positive interference in Indonesia and Malayasia was probably to maintain their authority in the important centres of Indian, African and Arabin trades, such as Singapore, Kra (Kalah), Takuapa, Katāha (modern Keddah in the Malay peninsula), Lopburi (in Siam), Tañjugpura (in Borneo), Majapahit (in Java) etc. From 15th century onwards the Chinese influence in the Far-East was gradually ousted by the Arabs, the Portugueses and the Dutchs.

THE MARITIME PEOPLES FROM THE WEST :—

The Dravidians.

Among the Western maritime races who came in India in the Early days the Dravidians were probably the most notable. According to many scholars the Dravidians were originally a Mediterranian

E sab saphare jata sadāgar vaise
Jaṅgadiṅgā loe tārā vānijyete aise
Saptagrāmer vēne sab kothāe nā jāi
Ghare vasye sukh moksya nā nā dhan pāi
Etc.

—Kavikaṅkan Mukundarāma's "Chandikāvya", pp. 195-202.

Vide Dr. T.C. Das Gupta, "Aspects of Bengali Society". Pp. 30-32.

Dr. D.C. Sen, "Bṛhad-Vaṅga."

people.[1] They adduce many good grounds to support this theory. Herodotus says (L. 173)"...The Lycians were of Crete in ancient times (for of old none that dwelt in Crete were Greeks). Now, there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in the division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans who, being thurst out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians were of old Mylian, and the Mylians were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpendon ruled them, and the people were called Termilaet which was the name that they brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming of Licus, son of Pandion—another exile banished by his brother Ægeus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came to be called Lycians after Lycius." Thus, according to the Classical author the Lycians originally lived in Crete which adorns the Ægean sea. If he is to be believed, in the prehistoric days these people settled in Asia-Minor after their migration from the island. From the island they brought their national name "Termilae". The ancient inscriptions of the Lycians call it "Trinmili". Now, "Termilae" and "Trinmili" both sound very much like "Tamil" the original designation of the Dravidians in India. According to R. D. Banerji and S. K. Chatterji these evidences conclusively prove the Ægean origin of the Early Dravidians. The former scholar points out "The method cist-burials, the similarity of names, and the identity of certain pictograms or ideograms discovered in South-Western Punjab and Upper Sindh with the pictograms and the linear script of Crete, indicate that the ancient Dravidians were a branch of the same race as the ancient Cretans, and they brought the picture-writing and burial-customs[2] with them from South-East Europe." The Custom was probably in vogue in the Mediterranean regions in the Pre-Mycanaean and Proto-Mycaenaean periods.

---

[1] S.K. Chatterji—Modern Review, 1924, pp. 675-76.

R.D. Banerji—Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India, chap. 11, pp. 12 13.

The Tāmil Sangam Literature may throw Some light on this subject. See, Aiyangar, "Manimekhalāi in its historical Setting" and "Beginnings of South Indian history."

[2] *Vide* Hall "The ancient civilisation of Greece," pp. 24-25.

The graves of the Ægean sea islands "are plain cist-graves constructed of marble-slabs, excavated but a few feet deep in the surface soil; their occupants were buried, not burnt and their skeletons were often found in that cramped and huddled position which seems characteristic of many primitive races."

R. D. Banerji—Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India, 15. "The multiple legged cists found at Perumber and numerous other places in the Madras Presidency resemble the terra-cotta chests (Larnakes) found at different places in the island of Crete." This practice of burial without cremation was also followed by the peoples of Troy, Rhodes and Babylon probably in the Pre-Mycaenaean age.

Now, there is an objection in this hypothesis of Mediterranean or Ægean origin of the Dravidians. According to Perrot and Chipiez,[1] Herodotus is wrong in his statement that the Lycians originally came to Asia-Minor from Crete. By depending upon the legends of Homer[2] they look upon the Lycians as the last representatives of a tribal group whose chequered existence was shared by the forefathers of the Trojans. Homeric evidences enable them at the same time to dismiss as baseless the explicit statements of Herodotus, to the effect that the Lycians had originally come from Crete, and that their name was due to the Athenian Lycon, son of Pandion (Herodotus, i, 173). The scholars further opine that " when Herodotus wrote his narrative, the last assertion (of the Athenian connection of the Lycians) had been recently coined, trumped up at Athens whose policy it was to establish an historical link between Attica and Lycia, so as to induce the latter to enter the maritime federation set a foot by the Cimons and Pericles, with the object of compelling the cities on the coast to pay tribute." Now, probably, we cannot endorse with the views of Perrot and Chipiez. They, without cogent grounds, show excessive scepticism with regard to the clear statements of Herodotus. Even if we acccept their suggestion of the Trojan connection of the Lycians they do not make any serious bar to our assumption of the Ægean origin of the Dravidians. In the first place there was really not a great gulf of difference between the Pre-Mycaenians and the Proto-Mycaenians or the Therean civilisations whose traces probably can be found in the lower strata of Troy which have been unearthed by the shovels of Schliemann.[3] After all Lycia was a sea-side colony (if it was a colony at all) and had intimate relations with the Mediterranean world. That the primitive people of the Mediterranean were a great sea-faring people is amply proved by their vase-decorations which are essentially of marine character (see, Hall "The oldest civilisation of Greece," p. 201 & fig. 57).

---

[1] History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria and Lycia, p. 340.

[2] " Trojans and Lycians " are the oft repeated phrase which was used by Homer to denote the multitudes of the Trojan antagonists who stood against the Archives in the famous war which followed the elopment of fair Helen by Paris.

[3] Hall—The oldest civilisation of Greece.
Anny Terry White—The romance of archaeology.
Montelius—Orienten och Europe.
Tsountas-Manatt—The Mycedaean age.
Myers—Science Progress, V; also—The Discoveries of Stais in Ægina.

Now, if it is true that the Dravidians were originally a Mediterranean race, probably it will not seem a bit unnatural to us that why the Tamils* in the Far-South proved themselves to be so good navigators in the later days. The Tamil nations of India, the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Cheras and also probably the Satyaputras (see the R.E. III of Asoka) were great maritime nations in Ancient India and they formed a compact group like the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, the Puṇḍras and the Suhmas in Eastern India.

(To be continued)

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF INDO-TIBETAN CONTACT—THE STORY OF AN INDIAN AMBASSADOR

SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE

Tibet the land of the mystic Lamas and still more mysterious rites details of which no Sharajadee tells has almost been a forbidden book to the civilized world. Wrapped up in the snowcapped hills of the Himalayas it stands even today like the silent Sphinx lost in the horizon. Yet the prayer wheels still move and its Lama still chants the mantra—" ওঁ মণিপদ্মে হুঃ ". The story that is being unfolded today is not however of the hoary past. It is almost of yesterday, of yester century—just the beginning of orient's impact with the occident, pouring in of new wine into old bottles.

2. Tibet though insular and almost away from trade routes of foreign travellers, was not so unknown as it seems to be. It had regular contacts with the neighbouring countries, particularly with India and China. From a translation of the two documents which Mr. Bogle (Warren Hastings' first envoy) brought with him, stories are told of how the Tibetans were supposed to have been born out of a union between a monkey and a Rakshashi—how their land was at first a part of water—how water drained through Bengal and how after Shakyamuni's death Pundits from Kashi came to Tibet. We know of the great Tibetan king Srong San Gampo. The story of Taranath Lama also adds a mystic chapter to its history. There is also evidence that Europeans came from many lands and in Waddell's books we have the stories of Friar O Doric of Pardena who on his return from Cathay in 1330(?) A.D. came to Tibet. We have also the record of Capuchin Fathers travelling to Tibet in 1706 as also of the Jesuit Father Albert Dorville and John Gruberr Wadell also refers to Jesuit Desiden reaching Tibet in 1716 from Kashmir and Ladakh. Van De Putte went to China via Lahsa and he kept some sketches and maps of how he went. There was also published in Rome in 1769 by Georgi a book called "Alphabetan Tibetanam." The history of Taranath Lama in the Khalka country has been recorded by Trealawney Saunders and an account of this has been quoted by him from the records of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersberg in 1868 with a Russian note by Prof. Wasiljew and a German translation by Prof. Schiefner.

3. Apart from all these, there is incontrovertible evidence that for thousands of years Bengal and Tibet had contiuous contact with each other, cultural, religious and commercial. Names such as Santarakshit (শান্তরক্ষিত), Atish (অতীশ), Dipankar (দীপঙ্কর), Manjusree (মঞ্জুশ্রী), Manju Ghosh (মঞ্জু ঘোষ), Bouddha Nath (বৌদ্ধ নাথ), the story of গৌড দেশীয় উপদেশক (Bengali teachers) *vide* palm leaf manuscript at Maharajah's Library in Khatamundu (being No. 83) ; name such as গুণাকর গুপ্ত, মঙ্গল সেন, অভয়কর গুপ্ত, রত্নাকর পাণ্ডি, পদ্মবর্দ্ধন, সহজ বিলাস স্থমতি ভদ্র were well known in Tibetan Tangyur who flourished in the Tantrik age and most of them hailed from Bengal. The Bhikshu's of Vikramsila, Uddandapuri and Jagaddal, monasteries were constant visitors to Tibet. This is not however the story that we are going fo tell today, nor how the Bengali brand of Mahajan Tantrik Buddhism mingled with that of Tibet. Today's story is more modern and more secular.

During the latter half of 17th Century the Gurkha tribes conquerred Nepal and in the turmoil in this Himalayan regions the chiefs attacked Sikkim and invaded Cooch Behar in 1772. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar sought the aid of the British and a company of Indian troops was sent to help him and drive away the invaders. Bhutan was considered to be a State under the protection of Dalai Lama of Tibet who in his turn owed allegiance to the Emperor of China. Dalai Lama was considered to be the Buddha's vice-Regent on earth, spiritual protector of Tibet and an incarnation of the Most Merciful Abolokiteswar. He never died, only occasionally he left one body to take refuge in another. The fabric of society was so conceived as to place "a sovereign Lama, immaculate, immortal, omnipresent, omniscient, ruling as the wisest man on earth and under a code of law where all was system and order." Next to Dalai Lama was the Teshu Lama of Tesilampo. He was called "Manajusree" and the particular Lama who at the time of the British intervention in Bhutan was holding sway was also the Regent acting for Dalai Lama. On hearing of the defeat of the Bhutanese he sent a remarkable letter to Warren Hastings which is quoted in extenso in Turner's account of 'An embassy to the Court of Teshu Lama, 'Introduction, pp. ix-xii, and in Markham's 'Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet' pp.61-62. The letter deserves to be quoted in full and it throws a floodlight on the character of the Lama :—

"The affairs of this quarter in every respect flourish : I am night and day employed in prayers for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travellers from your country, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart like the blossoms of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Praise be to God that the star of your fortune is in its ascension. Praise be to him that happiness and ease are the surrounding attendants of myself and family. Neither to molest, nor persecute is my aim: it is even the characteristic of my sect, to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual, but in justice and humanity, I am informed, you, far surpass us. May you ever adorn the seat of justice and power, that mankind may, in the shadow of your bosom, enjoy the blessings of peace and affluence. By your favour I am the Raja and Lama of this country, and rule over a number of subjects, a circumstance with which you have no doubt been made acquainted, by travellers from these parts. I have been repeatedly informed that you have been engaged in hostilities against the Deh Terria (De-tar-ya), to which it is said, the Dehs own criminal conduct in committing ravages and other outrages on your frontiers, gave rise. As he is of a rude and ignorant race, past times are not destitute of instances of the like misconduct, which his own avarice tempted him to commit. It is not unlikely that he has now renewed these instances, and the ravages and plunder which he may have committed on the skirts of the provinces of Bengal and Bihar have given you provocation to send your avenging army against him. Nevertheless his party has been defeated, many of his people have been killed three forts have been taken from him, and he has met with the punishment he deserved. It is as evident as the Sun that your army has been victorious; and that if you have been desirous of it, you might, in the space of two days have entirely extirpated him: for he had not power to resist your efforts But I now take upon me to be his mediator; and to represent to you, that, as the said Deh Terria (Deb Raja) is dependent upon the Dalai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway, thought on account of his being yet in his minority, the charge and administration of the country for the present is committed to me; should you persist in offering further molestation to the Deh Terria's country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you. Therefore from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease from all hostilities against him; and in doing this, you will confer the greatest favour and friendship upon me. I have reprimanded the Deh for his past conduct, and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future; and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded that he will conform to the advice which I have given him; and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part I am but a Fakeer, and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the welfare of mankind, and for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country; and I do now, with my head uncovered, entreat that you will cease from all hostilities against the Deh in future. It would be needless to add to the length of this letter, as the bearer of it, who is a Gosein, will represent to you all particulars; and it is hoped that you will comply therewith. In this country the worship of the Almighty is the profession of all. We poor creatures are in nothing equal to you. Having, however, a few things in hand I send them to you as tokens of remembrance and hope for your acceptance of them."

It will be seen from the letter that the Tashi Lama alludes therein to a Gosein who headed the deputation, and Turnar thus speaks of him:—"Of the persons deputed on this occasion by the Lama, two only ventured to encounter the burning atmosphere of Bengal; one a native of Tibet, named Paima; the other a pilgrim from Hindostan whose name I have already mentioned, Poorungheer Gosein."

In his note on Bhotbagan published in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Pt. I (1890) Mr. Gour Das Bysack visualizes as follows:

"We see in our mind's eye this personage in his ascetic garb with danda and Kamandula in his hands and with his tiger skins flung on his shoulders, ushered into the saloon of Govt. House and introduced as the holy envoy from the Grand Lama and presenting his credentials."

The communication from the Lama stirred the fertile brains of Warren Hastings who conceived the idea of reopening of trade routes and commerce with Tibet and decided on sending a Mission under one Mr. Bogle and which we shall call the First Mission. The Council's minutes of May, 4, 1774 refers to this:

"The President acquaints the Board that, since he read before them the letter from the Teshu Lama of Tibet, he has written an answer to it, and among other things, has proposed a general treaty of amity and commerce between the two states of Bengal and Bhutan. He begs leave to observe that such a treaty has ever been a favourite object with our Honourable Masters, and that they have repeatedly recommended the establishment of an intercourse with that country. The present juncture appeared to him the most favour which has yet occurred for pursuing these views.

The letter from the Lama invites us to friendship and the late final arrangement of the disputes on the frontier renders the country accessible without danger either to the persons or affects of travellers.''

We have in this connection a letter from Warren Hastings to the Court of Directors. He also prepared a note and issued private Commissions to Mr. Bogle, dated 16th May, 1774—as also a separate Memorandum. It is quoted in p. 12 :

It is said that in Tibet it is very common for one Lady to have several husbands. I should wish much to know if this practice obtains in all the ranks of society, and whether those husbands who all have intercourse with one woman have in likewise other women that are their wives, with whom likewise they hold an intercourse in common. We have instances in other countries where, though each man in a family had a wife that was properly his own, all the men in the family had likewise an intercourse with all the women in it. Perhaps this may be the case also in Tibet; and if we knew anything of the laws of succession in Tibet, or to whom the children of a wife with several husbands were understood to belong, one might be able to discover how the fact stood, though we had no direct information with regard to it.

The First Mission started from Calcutta in 1774, and it included Purangir Goswami—this time as a representative of the Governor-General.

It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Bogle the roads were only *known to the Sannyasis*. They went by stages and reached Tashi Lumpo. Here during a sojourn of 5 months Mr. Bogle picked up some knowledge of the Tibetan language, acquainted himself with the religious tenets and practices of the people, studied their character, habits and manner, noted their unique marriage customs, penetrated into the mysteries of their peculiar hierarchical Government, mysterious labyrinth of their politics, productive resources, trade routes. He himself says, "The Lama used daily to send a priest to me in the early morning with some bread and tea and chopped mutton . . . he used to put on a Tibetan dress, purple satin tunic lined with Siberian fur skins, a yellow Satin cap faced round with sable and crossed with a red silk tape and a pair of red silk Bulgar hide boots." He gave alms to the Sannyasins and Fakirs. He has admitted into the churches, saw the idols, participated in the holy service and even introduced to the ladies of the household. In all these Purangir was a great help.

During the First Mission it transpired that—

(1) The Lama was desirous of founding a religious house on the banks of the Ganges to establish a Tibetan culture centre and monastery to enable his people to pray—*vide* Mr. Bogle's letter to Hastings dated 5th December, 1774. Markham p. 69. It was also stated therein that about 700 or 800 years ago the Tibetan Pontiffs had many monasteries in Bengal and the Lama himself had fondness for that country for "although in the different periods of his reviviscence he had chosen many regions for places of his birth yet Bengal was the only country in which he had been born twice."

The Lama was so enamoured of Purangir Goswaan that he wanted him to take charge of this establishment along with one Sukhdev;

(2) that the Lama should use his influence with the Emperor and intercede for the British which he did.

Hastings therefore thought of sending a 2nd Mission in 1779-80 with Bogle as Envoy and Purangir as Assistant. Teshu Lama was going to Peking and it was thought Bogle would join him there by sea and, Purangir accompany him by road. In this connection it is interesting to note the description of the then Chinese Court which Purangir recorded when he went there with Teshu Lama. Purangir records the extraordinary veneration and esteem with which the Tashu Lama was held at the Chinese Court. We quote here from the Emperor's personal letter to the Lama quoted by Dalrymple: "My age", says the Emperor, "is now upwards of seventy years and the only blessing I can enjoy before I quit this life will be to see you and join in acts of devotion with the divine Teshoo Lama", who was considered by His Majesty as, "the first and most holy living of all those on earth who devoted their time to service of the Almighty"

At p. 443 Appendix I in Capt. Turner's book there is a translation of a letter from Kieniong, Emperor of China to Dalai Lama, the Grand Lama of Tibet:

Placed by heaven at the head of 10,000 kingdoms my utmost endeavours are employed to govern them well. I neglect no means to procure peace and happiness to all that have life. I endeavour also to make learning and religion flourish. Lama, I am persuaded that you enter into my views, and that your intentions accord with mine. I am not ignorant that you do all, that depends on you, to omit nothing your religion prescribes, and to follow exactly all the laws. You are punctual at prayer, and you bestow the attention that praying well requires. It is principally by this that you become the most firm support of the religion of Fo. I rejoice in it from my heart, and give you with pleasure, the praises that are your due.

By the favour of heaven I enjoy health. I wish, Lama, that you may enjoy the same blessing, and that you may long continue to offer up your fervent prayers."

Other points which Purangir noted are :—(Vide Dalrymple's Narrative Vol II p. 145).

(1) Grand and expensive preparation for their journey from Tibet to Peking;

(2) Attention paid during their sojourn at Peking. He was seated on the highest cushion on the Imperial Throne on the right side of the Emperor, even above the Crown Prince;

(3) Lama's whispering of a 'Mantra' into the Emperor's ear and his initiation in the presence of the High Priest 'Chankya Guru' who held the Lama in high veneration. Purangir was present on the occasion ;

(4) Purangir's audience with his Celestial Majesty and his talks with him *re*: Bengal and his Governor;

(5) The Lama's intercession for the British. The Lama proceeded to inform him, "in the country of Hindostan, which lies on the borders of my country, there resides a great prince, or ruler for whom I have the greatest friendship. I wish you should know and regard him also; and if you will write him a letter of friendship, and receive his in return, it will afford me great pleasure, as I wish you should be known to each other, and that a friendly communication, should, in future, subsist between you". The Emperor replied, that his request was a very small one indeed, but that you, or anything else he desired, should be readily complied with: He continued to enquire of the Lama what that prince or Governor's name was, the extent of the country he ruled over, and the number of his forces, etc.? Upon which the writer of this narrative was called into the presence by the Lama, and desired by him, to answer the enquiries of the Emperor, respecting the Governor of Hindostan, as he, the writer, had been often in his country. The writer then informed him, that the Governor of Hindostan was called Mr. Hastings,

that the extent of the country he governed was not near equal to that of China, but superior to any other he knew, and that the troops of that country upwards of three lakhs of Horsemen."

Unfortunately however the Lama died in 1780 of small pox. On his return, Purangir submitted his memoirs to the Governor-General. They were written in Hindovi and a portion was translated by Mr. Dalrymple and published in the Oriental Repertory in 1791.

At the time of Mr. Bogle's mission, Dalai Lama was a minor and Teshu Lama was his regent. On his death his brother Chango Kusho became regent and he communicated to Warren Hastings of the death of the Lama and his hope that he would soon be regenerated by transmigration. Hastings soon received the news of the transmigration and he took this opportunity of sending a 3rd Mission under Capt. Turner (Jan. 1783) with Dr. Robert Sanders, Lt. Davis and Purangir Gossain. From Turner's narrative (published in 1801) we find the Governor-General conveyed at once "his heartiest congratulations on the cheerful tidings of Lama's reappearance in the world". And the Regent replied "that the present and the late Teshu Lama was one and the same and there was no manner of difference between them". The regent gave the Governor-General's envoys a hearty reception, assured them of the Lama's identity, his regeneration having been accepted by the Emperor of China. The mission had arrived at a very significant time. They were introduced to the infant Lama a child 18 months old and Capt. Turner gives the most surprising and romantic account of this audience.

"During the time we were in the room I observed that the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy ... until they were filled again. He took some burnt sugar out of a golden cup and made a motion to his attendant to give them to me. "I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something, for it was hinted to me that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand "......He made a speech. "His whole attention was directed to us. He was silent and sedate never once looking towards his parents, his action was perfectly natural and spontaneons, he made the most expressive sign and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum."

Yet another mission was sent by Warren Hastings in 1785 in which Purangir Goswami was formally appointed as a diplomatic agent to the Tibetan Court. This is the first recorded instance in modern times of an Indian being accorded the status of a diplomatic envoy at a foreign court. He was present at the installation of new Lama and he sent a report which Capt. Turner translated later and presented to John McPherson, the then Governor-General In presenting the report of Purangir to Governor-General, Capt. Turner also added a note to the following effect :—

"With respect to the late re-established commercial intercourse Puran Gir's informed me that though he returned so early he found himself not the first who arrived there from Bengal. Many merchants had already brought their commodities to market and others followed before he left the place. He heard from no quarter complaint of impediment or loss, the markets were well-stocked with English and Indian articles and the exchanges was good."

After the departure of Warren Hastings this contact languished and though occasionally men such as Rajah Ram Mohan Roy or later Sarat Chandra Das took up the trail, there never was repeated the atmosphere of amity and concord which existed between India and Tibet in the early days of the British rule through the unique personality of Purangir Goswami who though a Sannyasi Tapaswi of Dasnami Sect, was a diplomat of high order and was stated in the Persian Sanads of 1778 and 1782 when a grant of land was made by the East India Company for erecting a temple at Howrah as "the most sage and wise and head of all the seekers of truth and in consideration of his virtue and piety that he may erect a temple."

The Persian records of 1778 refer to Lakharajee (revenue free) Sanad Nos. 3 and 4 signed by Warren Hastings himself and sealed with a black oval seal in obedience to the order of the Board dated 16.6.77 and in pursuance of the Court of Directors' letter dated 16.4.77 as expression of good inclination of Govt. to the Lama. Earlier in 1775 in the *patta* (deed) of the local Zeminders there is a reference to Purangiri. In the passport issued by Tibetan Govt. for journey to Manas Sarovar he is described as "Acharyya Puranagiri" and it reads as follows :—

"Take notice—that one of the servants of this (Govt.) Acharyya Purangiri with three attendants proceeds to make ablutions in the lake Mapham (Manas Sarovar) and to walk round it." On a reference made to the National Achives of India, I was told that there are references to Purangiri Gossain among the Persian records of the Govt. of India, which deal with exchange of presents between the

Teshu Lama and the Governor-General. These appear in Vol. VI of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence 1781-85. The monastery is described as follows in G. D. Bysack's note (Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1, 1890) :—

"It is a two-storied house of worship with a boundary wall having in its centre a gateway facing the river......a man quadrangle, partaking of a Tibetan character.

"Inside the Math are to be seen a lot of idols of the Hindu and mostly of the Tibeto Buddhist mythology. Among the former may be mentioned those of Vishnu, Durga, Vindhyabasini, Ganesa, Gopala, Salagram. Sivalingas of various sorts including the rare o form ones of three different colours, also Siva's bull. Among the latter are those of Arya Tara (আর্যা তারা), Mahakala Bhairab (মহাকাল ভৈরব), Sambhara Chakra (সম্ভর চক্র), Samaj Guiya (সমাজ গুহ্য), Vajra Vrukuti (বজ্র ভ্রুকুটি) and Padmapani (পদ্মপাণি). There is also a stamp of Kapil Muni's foot. ......

"In Tibet such a room is called "Lakhang". There was also a 'Samadhi Stambha'." It is interesting to learn that on the pedestal of the statue of Tara is inscribed in Bengali the name of Shri Khas Kamini and Bhot Kshetra. G. D Bysack thinks it refers to Sakti or female energy as Tara is identified with Prajna Paramita. It is stated that the daughter of the Emperor Tai-Tsang of the great Tang dynasty was married to the first Tibetan king in 630 A.D. and was an acknowledged incarnation of Tara. I think the word Kamini refers here to the female devotee who installed this image. Be that as it may, it represents an attempted synthesis.

It is a pity that we do not know Purangir's early history or of his lineage or parentage and which province he came from. In those days wandering travellers were the order of the day. We hear of one Pranpooree also who claimed to have gone to Russia and Siberia and to the land where half the year was day and half the year was night. So far as Purangir was concerned, it is clear that he spent most of his time in Bengal and Tibet. The inscription on the door top of the tomb of Puran Giri Goswami is written in Bengali and even exhorts the Muslims to venerate him. It has a Saivite emblem and is dated Sambat 1852, Sakabda 1717 23rd of Vaisakh Sunday (3rd May, 1795). Purangir died as the result of an attack by dacoits who were perhaps attracted by the wealth of his monastery which Teshu Lama endowed with the help of Warren Hastings. The report of his death was duly conveyed to the Governor General.

The main interest lies in the fact that here was a man who was an ascetic, yet took an active part in the promotion of good relations between India, Tibet and China not for personal aggrandisement or accumulation of wealth but as a torch bearer in the pursuit of India's time-honoured heritage of culture and faith, of ideas and ideals, who felt himself equally at home in the Grand Lama's capital, in the Chinese Court, in the Governor General's Saloon, as the wanderer in Manas Sarovar, as a recluse in the Himalayan caves, as a savant, as a saint, as a commercial traveller and diplomat and last but not the least as a man and as a Sannyasi.

TRANSLATION—THE CINDERELLA OF LITERATURE

KAMAL KRISHNA GHOSH, M.A.

Professor, Krishnagar College

"Then felt I like some watcher of the sky
When a new planet swims into his ken."

A stamp of inferiority has been imprinted upon that species of literary composition known as "translation." Relegated to an inferior position and grossly neglected, it has become verily "the Cinderella of literature." The reasons for this degraded lot of "translation" are not far to seek. Of course, the gravemen of the charge against "translation" is that it is not original. And so naturally follows the second charge, *viz.*, that simply because "translation" is not original it can be undertaken by any and every literary dilettante: and so it does not deserve our respect and serious consideration at all. The last, but by no means the least, charge against "translation" is its supposed dull and "wooden" character.

Of course, some of these charges are purely fanciful and simply fictitious. The first charge is almost puerile. Obviously "translation" is "translation" and cannot perforce be original. Why should we therefore pick a quarrel on this head? Skipping over the second charge, which we reserve for a thorough treatment in a separate section, let us now examine the third and the last charge on the sheet *viz.*, the supposed "wooden" character of "translation". It is an almost rash and sweeping indictment against a whole class, for it is a travesty of truth to say that all translations are wooden. To mention but only one example, we will cite the instance of the Authorized Version of the Bible, which may be looked upon as the noblest monument of translation. A piece of translation therefore when undertaken by only the adept does not degenerate into anything "wooden," but verily becomes a thing of beauty and joy, and let us add also inspiration for ever. And so to the second charge here is the ready reply—the adept only can be successful translators. We have however reserved for the second charge, as we have already said a separate section, where we will try to prove that the art of translation is beyond the reach of mere literary amateurs, that a good deal of special training and gift is essential for a successful translation and that in fact "literary Galahads" alone are fit for this enterprise.

Let us now proceed to dilate on the role of "translation", which is the theme of the first section of our disquisition.

I

In this vast world, full of diverse countries and diverse nationalities, what a tremendous flow of multifarious ideas and emotions, which we might look down upon as foreign and "outlandish," possessing no common point of appeal. But in fact it is not so. There is the same human heart beating, pulsating, vibrating everywhere. In some dim bygone age, for example, away from the gaze of the outside world, in some remote corner of a hermitage in ancient, India, the hermit-maiden Sakuntala sacrificed herself on the altar of love, and in the nineteenth century in far-off Germany, the German poet is stirred to the very core of his heart by a study of this story and that even through the medium of translation. In some bygone age, again, in the midst of rose-garden resonant with the notes of bulbuls, the Iranian poet Omar Khayyam had lost himself with the wine of love and the love of wine, and still today the world is enraptured by the divine song of this love-intoxicated poet. Star to star vibrates light, then why not soul to soul? This vibration of the soul can be caught and transmitted throughout the world, first and foremost, through the medium of "translations." But still so prejudiced are we that we look down upon "translation" as a veritable Cinderella of literature, and by thus giving it a bad name we want to hang it.

Translations can perform a noble service in this modern age, when it is impossible for us to keep ourselves aloof; for we are now linked up even with the remotest corner of the world and it will be simply a vain effort on our part to raise up around us high walls. No wall is high enough today, even the "humps" have been surmounted, if not by human feet by wings devised by the human brain. The remotest corner of the world has today been brought next to our door. Woe to him therefore who will want today to remain shut up in his own "ivory-castle." No literature, therefore, can remain today exclusively "national," it will hastily degenerate into something provincial, parochial, rustic in attempting to lead such a life. "Translation" is therefore the most suitable medium to purvey multifarious ideas of the outside world. But in the height of our superciliousness, we regard "translation" as "taboo".

Thus "translations" may appear in a new role, the role of ambassadors of thought and culture. Unlike the political ambassadors, they are the spiritual messengers who carry the torch of culture from one country to another, and their healing message will fall like oil on the troubled waters of the modern world. The more the different countries thus come to know each other, not through their "political diplomatic" agents, but through their authors, artists and thinkers, the greater is the chance of lasting world-peace.

But now to other topics. Considerable has been the influence of translation in building and moulding literature. It is this much neglected much-maligned art that carries a welcome, new breeze from one field of literature to another, that infuses new blood and brings down "waves from the other shore," with all their fertilizing flood. Every student of English literature knows what an immense debt English literature owes to "translation." In the Elizabethan age Shakespeare who had "little Latin and less Greek" got himself miraculously enriched by deep draughts of the lore, accumulated as the result of the labour of a host of translators of this period. And inestimable have been the services rendered not only to English letters but also to English life by the host of English translators of the Bible beginning with Wycliff, the morning star of Reformation, and culminating with the glorious band of translators of the *Authorized Version.*

From Elizabethan England to mediaeval Bengal it is a far cry no doubt, but truth does not change with clime or time. So we will now hark back to Bengal where we will find the same story unfolded. Just as the soil of Lower Bengal is built up and fertilized by the silt carried down from distant lands, leagues and leagues away, through generation after generation, by the numerous branches and sub-branches of two mighty streams, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, exactly similarly has been built up and fertilized the intellectual soil of Bengal as a result of the commingling of varied cultures, ancient and modern, of distant climes and distant times. And no mean has been the role of "translation" in this evolution of the intellectual life of Bengal. Not only the literature but also the very *language* of Bengal has been materially influenced. We have it on the authority of no less a person than the late veteran Dr. Dineshchandra Sen that the Bengali language, though not a direct descendant of Sanskrit, is so much "Sanskritized" today only as a result of profuse translations from the Sanskrit literature during the mediaeval period. Not only Bengali literature and language, but let us add now also the very life of the people of Bengal has felt this influence of translation from Sanskrit. What an immense contribution to the cultural life of Bengal has been made by the Bengali renderings of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, *Bhagbat Gita* the *Upanishads* and the works of Kalidasa, Bhababhuti and other classical authors. We have, therefore, perforce to acknowledge the transfusing and even transmuting power of "translation." It might sound paradoxical but it is nonetheless true, that foreign ideas, conveyed through the medium of your mother-tongue, have greater appeal to our heart, have a greater chance of becoming "the flesh of our flesh and the bone of our bone," than in their original, strange garb.

And here we come to the part that is to be played by "translations" in a different sphere—the sphere of the education of the youth of the country. We will give here an extract from the Report published in 1921 by the President of the Board of Education, England, where the case of "translation" was forcibly stated thus :—

> "When foreign writers cannot be studied in their works as they wrote them, the motto of the student should be not text-books, but translations": or "not text-books till after translations have been read."

In our country the proficiency of the average student in his adopted foreign language has been fast approaching such a dangerously vanishing point that it will not be very wrong to assert now that here also "foreign writers cannot be studied in their works as they wrote them." So our view is that in our country, our educational slogan should now be "not text books but translations." But we are constrained to note that in our country no organization has as yet taken up here the mission of translation on an organized, mass scale, although pioneers have been long since at work on their own initiative, ploughing sometimes their lonely furrows, unfriended, melancholy slow. In this connection has to be mentioned only one honourable exception, *viz.*—the Osmania University of Hyderabad, which even while in its swaddling clothes, had made a vernacular language the medium of its instruction even for the highest degree, by instituting a systematic course of translations, not omitting to translate even scientific and technical literature. It is now high time for all Indian Universities similarly to organize translations on a mass scale, so that the problem of the vernacularization, or, should we now say, that the nationalisation of the entire educational system might be easily solved.

True education is attained through joy. Joy alone has creative energy. So we are of opinion that so long text-books are not available in our mother-tongues, arrangements should be made to impart education through the medium of "translations," so that we will have the fullest benefit of education, having had the pleasure of getting education " with the tongue of our native dialect," to use a very bold phrase of Rabindranath Tagore. Thus through translations, there will be broadcasting of education, " diffusion of education" to use the terminology of Rabindranath Tagore and "dissemination," true and thorough, of foreign literatures, as it had been possible in the adopted land of Lafcadio Hearn, where Rabindranath Tagore himself was startled at the sight of his hotel maid reading his *Sadhana* in Japanese translation * and it is being now done in the lands of the Soviet republic, and also in Turkey.

In this connexion we have to record that Bengali literature has of late undergone a thorough change for the better in this direction, though, as we will see just now, very much still remains to be done. Foreign polemical literature with latest new-fangled theories and foreign literary classics are being almost regularly turned out in Bengali garb. But unfortunately these renderings are mere adaptations, systematic Bengali translations are as yet wanting. We hang down our head in shame when we consider that we have not yet a full translation of Shakespeare's complete works, although nations entering the field very much later have already got Shakespeare rendered into several of their native languages. We hang down our head in shame when we consider that a Bengali translation of some foreign work, on the scale of the Russian translation of the great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahabharata,* is not yet available and is destined to remain a dream for some time to come. Again we hang down our head in shame when we find that technical and scientific works also are still waiting for thorough and systematic translation into Bengali. Of course, we have other things to be proud of, we are proud, (and justifiably proud) of the giant strides made by the Bengali literature in other directions ; but the lacunae mentioned above have to be filled up and that quickly, for we are already late. The task is so gigantic that any amount of brilliant individual effort will be far too inadequate to cope with it; different organizations, both educational, literary, and governmental, with all the resources at their command, must undertake this task on a systematic basis, and we are sure the patronage of the general public will not be wanting *now* to such ventures.

---

* It was in 1917 that Rabindranath Tagore narrated this experience before the Presidency College Union. (See Rabindranath Tagore's speech in the Presidency College Magazine, November 1917, Vol. IV, No. 2, where in his own masterly manner the poet dilated on the theme of " translation " and enjoined upon the student to take up this line.)

Further, " Professor Tsubouchi in 1929 completed his monumental task of presenting 40 volumes of plays and poetry of Shakespeare to Japanese literature, after working for more than 40 years on the translation of all Shakespeare's works into his native tongue."—Illustrated Weekly of India, " Hamlet dons the Kimono," Feby. 6, 1949.

We have, we suppose, already made out a strong case for "translation," so we must hasten to conclude this part of our thesis. But there are persons who though vanquished can argue still. They look upon translations as no better than "rubbish heaps." Granting that their allegation is true, we must remind them that rubbish heaps too have got their utility—they must not forget that decomposed rubbish heaps are wonderful fertilizers. And so if bad and indifferent translations are ultimately relegated to the rubbish heap of literature there is no harm, we need not be much concerned. We have had occasion to refer already to the Elizabethan translators, whose work today is relegated to the rubbish-heap of literature no doubt. But there have been no two opinions about their tremendous influence. It is to their fertilizing influence that may be traced the germination and flowering of many an Elizabethan classic; in fact, the entire efflorescence of the Elizabethan literature might have been well nigh retarded but for the host of translators, who thus prepared the ground by their works, good bad and indifferent. So hats off to translators, the purveyors of foreign classics through the medium of their mother-tongue.

II

We now come to a full treatment of the charge against translation, second in the list, as laid down in the opening of our article, *viz.*, that translation can be undertaken by any and every literary dilettantee. This question ultimately resolves itself into a consideration of the *technique* of translation. We would make bold to assert at the very outset that the art of translation is not so very easy as is fancied to be; in fact, it is not only a very difficult art but is also at the same time elusive, and the sorry plight of many a translator testifies to this truth.*

---

* "The majority of translations are pedestrian in style, because established authors will not undertake such work. Years ago when I was lunching with Joseph Conrad......I asked Conrad whether he would be prepared to translate a work published in the Polish language he almost indignantly replied that nothing would induce him to do so.

Of course we have had admirable translations by writers who are not conspicuously associated with original work."

—Eveleigh Nash in a letter published in the Times Literary Supplement, August 3, 1946.

Strictly speaking, a translator has got to be an artist of a high order, and to boot, an artist of a peculiar type, an artist who can melt his personality into the mould of other authors. A translator will have to forget his own personality and merge himself with that of the artist he has undertaken to render. He must work himself up in the same vein and feel the same inspiration. Then and then only will his translation be translation, in the true sense of the term, a real transference from one literary mould to another, from one body to another ; it will then be not death but a real translation, of the original. Such a crowning feat of translation can never be within the reach of every literary dabbler. It is only the select few possessing some special divine gift and special training, that are fit for the enterprise of translation. Such gifted translators truly deserve the appellation of "literary Galahads," which, it might be remembered, we have already applied to them in the opening of our Essay ;

> "Ah, Galahad, Galahad, said the King, for such.
> As thou art is the Vision, not for these."

These, that is the rest only "follow wandering fires Lost in the quagmire." So persons, who delude themselves with the belief that anybody is good enough to be a translator, are certainly living in a paradise of their own.*

One important point therefore now emerges from this discussion *viz.*, that ideal translation is not simply a literal paraphrase done in a different language, it is the transference of the spirit, also, of the original—the emotions with all their rise and fall, their ebb and flow as conveyed by the words in the original will have to be canalised by the translator into his own work. For words are nothing but the vehicles of ideas and emotions. But more of this anon.

The enormous difficulties confronting a translator have been thoroughly discussed in the famous literary controversy between Matthew Arnold and Professor Newman on the problem of translating Homer. We might therefore turn with profit here to the consideration of some of the important points about the *technique* of translation that have come out of this controversy, however unhappy in some places this controversy has been. Matthew Arnold in his masterly analysis of the subject has pointed out some of the "rocks" on which a translator "splits" and has laid down the "right objects" on which a translator should "fix his attention." We invite a reference to these original papers for a detailed study of the subject, here we can make only a passing reference to a few of the points raised there.

---

* As a critic noted while reviewing a work of translation, thus : " It takes the touch of a master to transplant sensitive growths so that they flourish losing neither the form, colour nor perfume which distinguished them in their native soil " (The Sunday Statesman, Feby. 7, 1947).

At the outset of his essay Matthew Arnold has pointed out that it is not yet settled, "what aim a translator should propose to himself in dealing with his original." On one side it is said that a translation ought to be such "that the reader should if possible, forget that it is a translation at all, and be lulled into the illusion that he is reading an original work"; that on the basis of the original the translator rears a poem that affects the readers of the translation just as the original might have affected its natural readers. On the other hand, just the very opposite theory is preached and followed by Prof. Newman in his translation of Homer. He declares his aim to be "to retain every peculiarity of the original so that it may never be forgotten that he is imitating and imitating in a different material." According to Professor Newman, the translator's first duty is to be *faithful.*

But Matthew Arnold reminds us that it will not do to be merely outwardly faithful. Fidelity may be the ostensible ambition of a translator, but he must have a clear idea about this "fidelity." Matthew Arnold points out that we must be faithful not only to the *matter,* but also to the *manner* of the original. The translator can achieve this feat, if only he can "penetrate himself with a true sense" of the style of his original. He will then realise that the "peculiar effect of a poet resides in his manner and movements, not in his words taken separately." If a translator ignores the manner of his original as Professor Newman has done according to Matthew Arnold, he will fail even inspite of his being "conscientiously literal." The original will then pass through the peculiar, "literary and rhetorical crucible" of the translator and emerge as something quite different, just as Jones's *Persian song* is not Hafiz and Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat* is not Omar Khayyam. According to Matthew Arnold, that is the reason of the failure of almost all the translators of Homer. The translator's business, as Professor Newman has expressed it, though in a different context, is *not* "to melt up the old coin and stamp it with his own image."

Too much fidelity to the original therefore tends to lose in boldness and general effect. The translator's product should be judged by the general effect. The true judge of a translator, however, according to Matthew Arnold is neither a general unlearned public nor the pedantic scholar, but the scholar who is not a pedant, who knows that the worth of a literary master depends not on his single word but on the general effect he produced and the proper aim of the translator is to reproduce this general effect on the intelligent scholar. Viewed from this standpoint many English translators of Persian poets have been highly successful, though lacking its verbal or rhythmic fidelity." (See Islamic culture : Hafiz and his English Translators, April 1946, p. 116).

We have already said that words are nothing but the vehicles of ideas and emotions ; for words in fact, are redolent of a thousand subtle associations and suggestions, or *nuances* as they are technically called, which must be caught and reproduced in their entirety to make translation produce the effect of the original. But *that* is almost an impossibility, for these *nuances* gather round words as a result of the emotional experiences of particular nations, so that words with their fine shades of meaning and their peculiar undertones are nothing but the flowering of the emotional experiences through which those nations pass. Hence the subtle shades, the peculiar undertones of their words are the special and "established possessions," to use a phrase of Matthew Arnold, of *their* languages only, and cannot naturally be transferred to the languages of other nations, unacquainted with those experiences which gave birth to such words. The genius therefore of the translator's own tongue will not be at all suitable to transform such associations, so that, a translator is here up against an insuperable difficulty. Mere fidelity to the original, mere close "approximation to the text" will thus hardly help him to produce an ideal piece of work. By a mere literal paraphrase the crowd of original associations can never be transplanted and grafted upon foreign stocks, those old associations cut off from their native roots are bound to shrivel up and wither away in their new, artificial settings, however sedulous might be the care devoted to their nurture. The translator will therefore have to be content with either of the following two alternatives : he must either deliberately omit such words and therefore such associations entirely, or at best make only a verbal translation, a mere paraphrase, so to say, which will naturally turn out something purely mechanical, dull and soulless, shorn as it will be of the original associations. In any case, therefore, the original associations, suggestions or *nuances*, by whatever name they may be called, totally disappear in the translation, Professor John Livingston Lowes of Harvard University in his masterly study on the English translation of the Bible in his Essay, "The Noblest Monument of English Prose," while dilating on the complex problem of the translation of the *Authorized Version*, has detected this aspect of the problem of translation with an unerring insight. From the following striking passage in Shakespeare's *Othello*

> "Not poppy nor mandragora,
> Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
> Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
> Which thou ow'dest yesterday,"

he illustrates his point that, "certain things are notoriously untranslatable" by quoting Dr. Furness, who taking those lines, word by word, has found out the "utter impossibility of reproducing their distinctive music or their subtle connotations in any other language without irreparable loss". Mr. Lowes also, is here of opinion that, "the very essence of a piece of literature, its breath and finer spirit, is apt to evaporate in the passage from one language to another, so intimate is the union between the nicer shades of thought and feeling and the delicate, evanescent association of words."

(To be continued)

Round the World

Meeting of Pacifists

In December next will be held at Shantiniketan and Sevagram a Conference of Pacifists, coming from different parts of the world. Mr. Horace Alexander of the Society of Friends has taken the intitiative in this regard. He had long talks on the matter with Gandhiji before his lamented death. Gandhiji had in fact taken a good deal of interst in this projected Conference and, if he lived today, would have taken a part in its proceedings. Now that he is no more, his spirit will centainly guide a good deal the deliberations at Shantiniketan and Sevagram.

Mr Alexander himself is not very optimistic as to the impact of this Conference upon the present day world which seems to be fast approaching a. violent showdown. But that is no reason why men, ardent in their desire to abolsih war, would not meet and talk and try to influence as many people as possible by their example and ardour. In fair weather-many become converted to the principle but when the crucial hour arrives, the spirit of non-violence disappears, Many a great teacher had urged the conquest of violence by non-resistance. The latest of them was Gandhiji himself. But while in the realm of thought these teachings have found a permanent home, in the practical world they have not unfortunately been of much use even in their own lifetime. Human nature, it seems, is prone to violence. So far it has proved impossible to check this propensity. Neither culture nor civilisation has very much interfered with it. On the contrary in the name of civilisation and culture the greatest of violence has been committed. Wars of religion are not so distant as some may suppose them to be. In India they are of very recent occurrence. The American Civil War of the last century was again the result of undue emphasis on the special type of culture and way of life in the southern states. Even the violence that is practised today on the coloured population in the United States and South Africa is intended to protect what is called white civilisation.

So people may neceassarily become pessimistic as to the outcome of such a conference as Mr Alexander is organising. When the first world war broke out, there were many idealists who welcomed prison life rather than allow themselves to be conscripted. The suffering they underwent dose not, however, seem to have left any permanent effect behind. Many people were not influenced by it and few accepted their principle. When in fact the second world war started in 1939, the world had already been too brutalised to think of resisting war. Its declaration by Britain, *e.g.*, was taken as a matter of course. But that does not mean that world peace has ceased to be a grand ideal. Whoever may should contribute his best towards its preservation.

Gandhi Memorial at Washington

At the time of writing both houses of the United States Congress have approved of a bill which provides for the erection of a Memorial to Mahatma Gandhi at Washington D. C. It is confidently expected that the President will readily give his assent to the measure and make it an Act. It is proposed to erect the Memorial by private subscription and the bill has been passed by the Congress on the definite condition that the Government will not be required to spend anything in giving effect to the proposal. We havs no doubt about it that the money required will be quickly raised and there will be no difficulty in establishing a centre of culture in Washington which will be at once a fitting memorial to Gandhiji and at the same time an effective instrument for interpreting India to the American people. In the past there was a good deal of misrepresentation of India and her people in the United States. It was only a handful of non-official Indians in that country who without much resource tried to counteract it and put the Indian case in its proper perspective before the American people. Since 1947 India has been free and since then has maintained a full-fledged embassy at Washington which through its officers has been trying its best to keep the Americans well informed of Indian civilisation, culture and political policy. But this is not enough. America is a vast country, the curiosity of its people in regard to India is great and the misrepresentation which has been made of India in past decades is considerable. In view of this a centre of information and culture built round the life and activities of Mahatma Gandhi at Washington will go a great way towards making India better known to the Americans. It should never be forgotten that America is not only the greatest and most advanced democracy in the world today but its people are not always guided by sordid motives of trade and commerce (as it is supposed in some circles). Many there are actuated by idealism and if they are kept well posted about India's affairs they will be pillars of strength for this country.

India and UNESCO

At the time of writing Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has arrived in Paris to preside over the Executive Board of the UNESCO and to lead the Indian delegation to its general Conference. In an interview he stressed the need of larger Indian representation on the staff of this organisation. It was unfortunate, he observed, that out of seven hundred members of its staff only seven were Indians. It is a body whose object is to stimulate international cultural cooperation and bring about greater unity of outlook among the different nations. This object is certainly being largely frustrated by an almost exclusive domination of the organisation's staff by the nationals of North America and Western Europe. We hope that in the near furture the balance will be considerably redressed and Asian representation considerably increased.

One of the items on the agenda of the Conference is the proposal to establish an Institute of Cultural Co-operation for SE Asian countries. He hoped that this Institute would be set up somewhere in India.

Mr. Mavlankar on the Indian Constitution

In an interview at Bombay Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Indian Parliament, pointed out that the Constitution which was so laboriously being fashioned by the Constituent Assembly at New Delhi was "not suited to the genius of our people". The system that is being reared, he observed, would not quite tally with the Indian way of life. The government based on adult suffrage would require a very alert and watchful public to keep it going on proper lines. Individuals must be ready to challenge every deviation of the Government from the right path and undergo suffering and sacrifice on that score if necessary. But the people of India are not as a rule so alert and watchful. They love to leave it to a few leaders to do the governmental job in their own way. They are in fact rather indifferent to public affairs and unmindful of their duties as citizens. In view of this he thinks the Government should have only few duties and responsibilities and leave the individuals more free to deal with their affairs in their own way. The Constitution also, he thinks, should not have been so detailed and so hidebound as it is actually going to be. It should have contained only a few broad clauses. The rest might have been left to the legislatures. They might have filled in the details according as circumstances permitted. He even cited the British system as a model. Under it the Parliamant was the sovereign and used its discretion in meeting circumstances as they arose.

The British system is, however, unitary and consequently admits of much flexibility in the Constitution. Secondly, the British Parliament, while free to adopt new conventions, binds itself to many old conventions, which, though not law, have practically the force of law. In India, however, we are going to stick to the federal system which makes imperative a written and rigid constitution. There exists, of course, a group of thinkers who believe that provincial autonomy which requires the federal system and the earmarking of powers and functions for the Central and Provincial Governments is becoming dangerous to the unity of the country and should consequently be scrapped. There are some who even go to the length of asserting that provinces as political and administrative units should be abolished. But this point of view has not yet found much support either in the Constituent Assembly or in the country. In view of the vastness of India and the diversity of her people it is also unlikely that in the immediate future unitarism will have greater support than now. Even the Constitution which has been shaped at New Delhi has been decried by some as having too unitary a bias. Consequently the federal system will continue to persist and with it the written rigid Constitution.

Unlike the British Parliament the Indian legislature will not have any traditions and conventions to fall back upon. Consequently, if the Constitution is not detailed and rigid, this body may become wayword and do things which will be undesirable. The Constitution has to limit its pretensions and stop it from passing laws and formulating policies which, however pleasing in a period of excitement, may undermine permanent interests of the country. This does not, of course, mean that the Constitution might not have been less detailed than it has become. The Chapter on fundamental rights is a case in point. It may put unnecessary check upon the legislatures without adequately safeguarding liberties of the people. Further, it may result only in considerable litigation and in congestion of business in the courts of law. The provisions in regard to the language question have been welcomed as a triumph of the spirit of compromise. But some think they were not necessary. There is no gainsaying the fact that at least for fifteen years to come English will have to continue as the official language. So it might have been merely stated that after fifteen years the Parliament will be entitled to decide upon the issue. Now it is the Parliament (though calling itself the Constituent Assembly) which is framing the Constitution. After fifteen years also the same body, possibly more broadbased than now, might have settled by law the question at issue.

Only a gist of the Speaker's statement has been published. Consequently it has not been possible to appreciate the full significance of his views. In any event without agreeing with him in all he says, we share his misgivings in regard to the too detailed character of the Constitution.

A. V. Thakkar.

We welcome the proposal of presenting a volume to Mr A.V.Thakkar on the 29th of this month on the occasion of his 80th birthday. His has been a dedicated life. A member of the Servant of India Society which Gokhale founded in 1905, Mr Thakkar has devoted all his time and attention to the service of the poor, the backward, the sick and all those others who are neglected and uncared for. Thakkar Bapa, as he has been lovingly called, has extended his personal services wherever in the country there has been suffering either from the freaks of nature or by the hand of man. Among the people of the scheduled castes and tribal areas his services have been especially marked. His understanding of their problems and his sympathy with their cause are unequalled. He was on this account an asset to the Constituent Assembly in the formulation of its policy towards these backward groups. In honouring this veteran servant of India it is not enough that we should be satisfied with presenting him with only a commemoration volume. On this occasion many should be infected by the high idealism and lofty spirit of service which have actuated the long and useful career of Thakkar Bapa. True spirit of independent India will be manifest if some fresh men take on this occasion the vow of absolute dedication which Thakkar Bapa took decades ago and has acted up to since then.

Settlement of the Language Issue

The Constituent Assembly has decided to retain English as the official language for fifteen years. Thereafter Hindi in Devanagri script will take its place, though meanwhile also Hindi may be used for one or more purposes. There was a controversy whether in respect of numerals the international form which was originally the contribution of India herself should not be, given preference. This has now practically been decided upon.

India is a multilingual country, different zones having not only their own languages and literatures but their own scripts as well. While this linguistic diversity has added colour and variety to Indian culture and tradition, it has also undermined unity and stimulated fissiparous forces in the country. Political unity presupposes a common medium of expression. Not that this common medium is to destroy the local languages and become the only medium of communication between man and man but that official business which has any all-India implications is to be carried on through it. In fact, without any such common medium a common Government becomes an absurdity.

The question was which language would be selected for this purpose. There were three alternatives—English, Sanskrit and Hindi. As for the first of these three, there was much to be said in its favour. For more than one hundred years it has served as India's lingua franca, bound different parts of this country together, opened India's intercourse with the outer world and inspired a considerable section of the Indian people with ideas of liberty and freedom. Many thought the position which English had attained in this country in British days might remain unchallenged after the achievement of freedom as well. For maintaining our link with the progressive world, cultivation of English was essential for us. English learning could be abandoned only to our detriment. When, therefore, the study of English was to be pursued as before, there was no sense in abandoning it as the common official medium of expression. Secondly, immediately after achieving freedom we have been confronted with too many problems the solution of which has become urgent. In view of it there was no necessity of creating a new problem by thinking of a new lingua franca. Thirdly, India had decided to remain in the Commonwealth, though on her own conditions. The keeping up of English as the official medium would have been consistent with our membership of the Commonwealth. Against this was, of course, the argument that though we have elected to stay in the Commonwealth, there was no gainsaying the fact that India was now an independent country with culture and traditions of her own. This status of independence was singularly inconsistent with the maintenance of English as the official language. Its utility was great no doubt and its services in the past considerable. But it was after all a foreign language which might and should be learnt by many but which should not be given a status of pre-eminence which it had enjoyed only in the days of foreign rule. It was this argument which appealed to most members of the Constituent Assembly. They, however, as pointed out already, came to a compromise. They have retained it for fifteen years as the official language for the centre.

Once English was eliminated, as the permanent official language, the other two alternatives were to be considered. It is rather sad that due importance was not given to Sanskrit and its possibilities were not properly explored. Dr. Katju, the Governor of Bengal, had urged its acceptance as the official language. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee also preferred it to the same end. But it was not all the same seriously considered. It is not a spoken language and consequently has not behind it any large group of people to promote its cause. So its case went by default. For centuries Latin was the international language of Europe. It was a dead language but nobody rejected its claims on that score. It is of course true that international business was then of the rudimentary kind and it was possible on that score to use for the purpose a language which was dead. But that does not mean that if Latin was continued as the language of international relation and diplomacy it would not have adjusted itself to the changing demands of different ages. The same may be said of Sanskrit as well. As a language and as a literature it is so rich as to have easily become an effective medium for all official purposes. Its great merit was that it was honoured in all parts of the country and would have aroused no feeling of jealousy in any one of the provinces.

But Hindi in Deva Nagri script has been preferred. It has the merit of being the language of a large belt of territory in Upper and Central India. Though the majority of the people of India are not born to this language and do not speak it, a large group owes allegiance to it. The other languages though more developed and more rich are spoken only by a lesser number. It should, however, be remembered that although Hindi is spoken by a considerable section and on that account accepted by other groups, they have accepted it only out of patriotism at considerable sacrifice. Consequently those who are born to Hindi language and those who have on that account promoted its interests as the common language for the country should work warily and cautiously. Many of them are aggressive. Such spirit, however, will only harm the cause of Hindi. Already their intransigence regarding Hindi numerals had almost stiffened the opposition to the cause of Hindi. Nothing should be done to force the pace. Late the promoters of Hindi make all-out efforts to popularise this language among those to whom it is as foreign as English. And so long as its popularity is not very marked in all provinces, there should be no-attempt to dislodge English. Unfortunately this observation may appear too cautious and too wise for people who have become fanatical about the mission of Hindi. In some provinces where these people dominate, English is fast disappearing both as the official language and as the medium of instruction. This is unfortunate.

Something in this connection should be said about those who wanted to give an equal position to Urdu both in language and script. Mr. Lari, a member of the Constituent Assembly from U.P. is reported to have resigned because the claims of Urdu have not been recognised. We should only point out to him that if Urdu has lost parity with Hindi, other languages in the country, *e.g.*, Bengali, Oriya. Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, and Gujarati, have also lost that parity. If those whose mother-tongue is one of these languages have accepted the decision, it is unreasonable that Urdu-wallas alone should protest. They of course point to the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi. But this opinion might have been valid for an India which does not exist today. After partition, that opinion has lost its validity. This is a very simple and elementary truth, which, it is regrettable that some people do not understand.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Aspects of Science.—By Sir C. V. Raman, N.L., F.R.S., Nalanda Publications, Bombay 1. 1948. Rs. 2-4.

If there is anything which specially characterises modern times, it is the interest, widely felt, in the progress of science. This statement does not altogether tally with the conditions that obtain in India. In spite of a direct acquaintance, with western civilisation and through the medium of the English language, in spite of a centralised educational system for about a century now, India still remains positively backward in respect of education in science. Though emphasis has sometimes been placed on science since the thirties of the last century, the attainments are still short of the standard. The University of Calcutta had on its programme the compulsory adoption of science in its school curriculum, but the progress(?) has been very slow, the remarkable researches of the Post-graduate Department notwithstanding. In spite of a brilliant record of researches made from year to year in the Indian Universities, the fact remains that our general education is still hopelessly deficient in science. The radio, which seeks to correct so far as it may the defects of the educational system, has been harnessed to this cause, and Sir C. V. Raman—a first-rate worker and an experienced professor who had won his laurels in the form of the Nobel prize in 1930—has published his radio talks on different aspects of physics in popular language. A fluent speaker and a master of humour, he has been appreciated for a facility of exposition of difficult and abstruse subjects, and the nineteen talks which have been published in this book by Nalanda Publications with the permission of the All-India Radio will appeal to readers who have a general acquaintance with science. Such volumes should be welcome to all who are interested in modern scientific ideas and their circulation, and enterprising publishers may as well think of having them translated in modern Indian languages, in view of the great possibility of education being imparted on an extensive basis to all classes of people in the near future.

P. R. SEN

West of the Decline.—By Frederick Jellinck. (Alliance Press Ltd., London).

Pricing in Planned Economy.—By B. V. Krishnamurti (Oxford University Press).

A Study of Economic Plans for India.—By D. S. Nag (Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay).

Frederick Jellinck is opposed to socialist planning, but is at the same time conscious of the spread of socialist ideas in Europe to-day. He finds Europe divided into two "basically hostile" sections of people—the liberal section and the communist section, the Conservatives being the natural allies of the Liberals while socialists of all sorts go with the communists. Between these two rival ideologies—the Liberal and the Communist—no compromise is possible; such compromise as the Social Democrats attempt is inherently unstable. In view of the irreconcilable hostility between these two opposing ideologies, the formation of the United States of Europe is plainly unadvisable. The solution, according to Jellinck, lies in "the partition of Europe into Communist and Liberal zones," with open frontiers and continuous freedom to every European to belong to the zone of his choice. It will be best if this partition is brought about with common consent; the alternative is "a hundred years' war of overall destruction to let the natural and logical issue have its way," while. Jellinck's case against socialist planning is only partly economic and largely political and cultural, Krishnamurti writes on planned economy strictly from the point of view of the academic economist. Writing from this special point of view, Prof. Krishnamurti ably elaborates the thesis that the problem of maximum utilisation of the productive resources of the community can be effectively solved only within the framework of an economic system permitting of conscious regulation or planning. Adam Smith's principle of laissez-faire was the most effective method of bringing about the maximum economic efficiency and welfare of the community at a time when small-scale production, accompanied by conditions of rising marginal costs, was the characteristic feature of industrial enterprise. But in our time large-scale enterprises and conditions of falling marginal costs have come to hold sway over a wide sector of economic activities. It is this change in the basic conditions of production that has made traditional free enterprise outmoded.

Prof. D. S. Nag has rendered a distinct service to the reading public by giving within the compass of a single handy volume a critical account of the various economic plans of India that have emanated in course of the last few years from diverse sources, private as well as public. His ideas on economic planning and control seems to allow of further development. While writing on the Gandhian plan he points out that stringent economic controls will adversely affect the ideal of individual liberty. In other places he eagerly advocates extension of nationalisatian of industries. We venture to suggest that it may be fruitful if he turns his thoughts to finding out how far, and through what institutions and forms of control, it is possible to retain individual liberty without giving up the economic advantages of planning.

AMLAN DATTA

Random Selections—published by National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay, Price Rs. 2-8-0.

The publishers' forward to the book says that the N.I.P. "is confident that everyone who reads these articles will look forward to more future collections from the same source." The reader will heartily endorse this statement.

"Random Selections" have been gathered from articles distributed by the National Press Syndicate. C. Rajagopalachari, Mulk Raj Anand and Amiya Chakravarty delight us with five sketches of outstanding personalities in literature and politics. Khan Abdul Khan and Professor Dantwala give us humorous descriptions respectively of democracy and the working of the agricultural conferences. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya caters for women in her "Where are you going to my Pretty Maid". Weightier matters are discussed by Professors C.E.M. Joad and J. B. Kripalani. J. H. Cousins provides variety by a discussion on "The Boundaries of Art".

The titles are well chosen, the print is large and clear, and the illustrations at the head of each article are apt and amusing. "Random Selections" makes good reading. The price however seems a little excessive for a paper-covered book of selections.

PEREGRINA PICKLE

Mitaksara: Dayabibhaga; edited with Bengali translation by Śrî Sukhamaya Bhattacharya Śâstrî Saptatîrtha; published by the Viśvabhāratī Granthālaya, 2 Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta; pp. 132 with introduction; Price Rupees Three.

The *Dāyavibhāga* Section of the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, concerning the principles of inheritance to property, is in this volume edited with the original verses of the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* in Bengali characters, and with, perhaps for the first time, a Bengali translation of the same by Śrî Sukhamaya Bhattacharya Śâstri. The translation follows the original faithfully as far as practicable, while the long introduction which runs to 33 pages gives a lucid exposition of the principles of inheritance, by a happy comparison of Vijñâneśvara's views with those of Jīmutavāhana in the *Dāyabhāga*. The law of the *Mitākṣarā* does not hold good in Bengal and Assam, but since its study is almost imperative for a clear understanding of the *Dāyabhāga*, students of Law and of Smṛti of both these provinces may do well to accord a welcome to the book for examination and profession.

N. N. DAS GUPTA

• **Similes of Kalidasa,**—By K. Chellappan Pillai; published by the Viśvabhāratī; Introduction + pp. 69 + Index; Price Rupees Two and Annas Eight only.

This dainty and neatly printed brochure under review contains a classical list, in alphabetical order, of the names (and their different synonyms) of various natural and other objects, such as birds, animals, earth, flowers, metals, minerals, mountains, plants, rivers, cloud, fire, king, sky, time, water, ocean, wind, women, ornaments, as also gods, celestial bodies etc., that are employed by Kālidāsa in his similes, for which the poet is known best and which are reckoned by most of the theorists as the best of all the figures of speech. In the introduction the writer discusses the meaning and function of *upamā* (simile) and its place as a figure of speech in Sanskrit poetics, and gives an idea of the character of the imageries of Kālidāsa, who mostly picks up his standards of comparison from the realm of nature. Students of Sanskrit literature in general, and of *Alamkāra śastra* in particular, will find it useful as a ready reference book on the topic.

N. N. DASGUPTA

Ourselves

UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS

In bringing out this number of the Calcutta Review which is managed and published by the University, it is our duty to refer to some unfortunate facts regarding its activities, which found detailed publicity for about a month. Because of the Puja holidays we had to keep ready the October number rather early. It was, therefore, not possible to refer to these matters in that issue; we had to postpone their consideration to the November number.

On the 17th September a Calcutta daily published detailed facts about the increase of marks of a candidate in the Matriculation examination of this year by some of the Head Examiners. It was pointed out that this increase was malafide and was done because of the candidate's relationship to the then Vice-Chancellor. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate took prompt steps and set up an enquiry committee under the chairmanship of Mr. C. C. Biswas. This Committee sat from day to day for a week, made a sifting enquiry and came to a finding that the increase of marks was not justified. It, however, exonerated the Vice-Chancellor of any direct responsibility for what had taken place. As for the Head Examiners who were involved in this "sorry business", the Committee recommended that they should not be appointed examiners in any other examination. The Syndicate has accepted the report and the recommendations of the Committee.

The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee, who has been connected with the University since 1917 and served in various important capacities before reaching this high office in 1946 bowed to the situation and resigned. We bid him adieu as Vice-Chancellor with a heavy heart. At the meeting of the Senate which was held on the 29th October last, high tributes were paid to him by the new Vice-Chancellor and Professor Khagendra Nath Mitra for the excellent work he did as the head of the University.

* * *

THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR

Mr. Charu Chandra Biswas has been appointed Vice-Chancellor in succession to Dr. Banerjee. He has a distinguished record of service as an educationist, jurist and public man. A brilliant alumnus of the University, he became early associated with it as a Fellow and Syndic and has served this great seat of learning in these capacities for about three decades now. As a public man, he never allowed himself to swim with the current. He had the courage and stamina to swim against it. As a judge of the High Court he was known as much for his legal acumen as for his judicial fairness. The great judgment on the Bhowal case may be cited as an illustration. Those who know him would remain assured that he will be equal to the situation which has of late confronted the University. The responsibility of leading it has come to him late in life but it is significant that it has come to him at the time of a crisis. We have no doubt about it that he will deal with the situation with the courage and fairness which have characterised his past activities.

The University is a public institution and is certainly open to public scrutiny and criticism. It was on that account only good, as the Vice-Chancellor has emphasised in his Press Conference, that for a number of weeks some of the newspapers took an active interest in its affairs. But in their enthusiasm to do good some of them were carried further than what was necessary and helped in creating an impression which was certainly not their intention to create. The University of Calcutta is not only the largest seat of learning in Asia but is the most beloved institution of this province. It is an object of pride, a centre of hope of the Bengali people. Everything else might go down but the standard of the University must fly high. It was on this score quite natural and inevitable that when some irregularities in its affairs were reported, criticism became strong and loud. The University had a special sanctity of its own which the public would not allow to be tarnished. But in this hour of gloom let it not be given out that irregularities are common in this seat of learning. We regret very much that there should be any resiling from the position of the strictest rectitude in any of its affairs. While, however, every step will be taken and is being taken to make any irregularity impossible in the future, this is time for the public to remember all other aspects of the University's administration of which we should all feel proud. Let each one of us—fellow, teacher, alumnus, guardian and member of the public contribute his quota to the constructive development of the University. We have no doubt about it that clouds will disperse and the University will flourish from more to more.

* * * *

EVENING COMMERCE CLASSES

Early in September Commerce graduates of the University wanted an evening post-graduate section to be opened for their benefit. Many of them had passed the B.Com. examimation after attending the under-graduate evening classes in the different colleges. During the day time they were employed in different offices and could not avail of the regular post-graduate M.A. classes in Commerce which were held during their office hours. So an evening section would be welcome to them. The University authorities had a natural hesitation in coming to a decision entailing considerable financial and other responsibilities. Evening post-graduate classes were in fact a novelty, the full implications of which were not clear to them. But later the Chancellor was approached for appointing a Committee of Enquiry. This Committee met for a number of days under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice N. C. Chatterjee and submitted an interim report early in October recommending the opening of an evening section for the M.A. students in Commerce. Professor D. N. Banerjee disagreed with his colleagues in this finding and submitted a note of dissent. The majority recommendation has been accepted by the Syndicate and a decision has been taken to do the needful in this regard. There are other recommendations also regarding commerce studies from the Intermediate standard onward. These recommendations have been submitted to the combined Commerce Board for consideration.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. R.O. 25

It is hereby notified for general information that graduates of other Universities seeking admission to the D.Phil. degree of this University will be required to have their Migration to it sanctioned by the Syndicate on payment of the usual migration fee of Rs. 20 and to register their names, as students of this University, on payment of the usual Registration fee of Rs. 2 before they are enrolled as candidates for the D.Phil. degree. It is to be noted in this connection that graduates of other Universities are required under the rules to work for two academical years under a recognised teacher of this University before they will be eligible for admission to the D.Phil. degree.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

Senate House,
Dated 3rd September, 1949.

Notification No. Misc. R1, dated 26th August, 1949

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to sanction the proposal for insertion of a new Chapter (LII-A—Diploma in Town and Regional Planning) after Chapter LII (Bachelor of Engineering Examination, Part II) in the Regulations of the Calcutta University.

The new Chapter referred to above runs as follows :—

Chapter LII—A

An extract from the Minute of the Syndicate Item No. 12 of 24th August, 1949.

"Read a notification of the University of Saugar, stating that the following examinees having been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Supplementary Examinations held in August, 1949, are disqualified for admission to any University Examination to be held before July, 1950. They are not eligible for readmission to the University or its affiliated colleges during this period :—

Roll No.	Enrol No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	College	Exam.
15	A-3829	Prem Singh Sodhi	Shri Pritam Singh Sodhi	Ex-student	I.A.
6	A-326	Kanchheddilal Fuskelay	Balchand Fuskelay	Do.	B.A.

PATNA UNIVERSITY

The undermentioned candidates are debarred from appearing at any University Examination for the period noted against their names as they were found guilty of using unfair means at the Examination (Suppl. Matriculation Examination of 1948) :—

Roll	Name of Institution	Name of the candidate	Father's name	Punishment Imposed
Pat. 325	M.A. A.H.E. School, Patna City	Md. Masood Hussain	S. A. Hafeez	Debarred from appearing at any University Examinations of 1950 prior to the Annual Examination.
Pat. 327	Do.	Shree Narayan Dass	Mdho Dass	Do.
Pat. 501	Patna City Private H.E. School, Patna City	S. Lalan Lall	Daboo Lall	Do.
Pat. 317	Patna City H. E. School, Patna City	S. Mashkoor Jan,	Maqbool Jan	Do.
Bhag. 91	E.I.Ry. H. E. School, Sahibganj	Dina Nath Prasad	Bishnu Lall	Do.
Bhag. 173	Shardo Pathshala, Celone	Kamleswari Pd. Singha	Kali Pd. Singha	Do.
Bhag. 343	N.K.H E. School, Jhandapur	Saikh Shamsuddin	Shaikh Mehadi Hossain	Do.
Bhag. 346	H.E. School, Narayanpur	Brahmadeo Yadav	Gainu Prasad Yadav	Do.
Nal. 24	G. S. H. E. School, Bihar Shariff	Sirajuddoulah	Aminuddin	Do.
Nal. 150	M. D. N. H. E. School, Barimath	Ganesh Prasad	Bulaki Mahoto	Do.
Nal. 95	C. H. E. School, Hussainpur	Govind Mahto	Mahabir Mahto	Do.
Mong. 387	Private Zila School, Monghyr	Deep Narayan	Munshi Babu Lall	Do.
Gaya 145	H. E. School, Hati	Ram Dip Singh Yadav	Keshwar Singh Yadav	Do.
Ran. 126	M. L. Runta High School, Chaibasa	Udit Narayan Singh	Hari Prasad Singh	Do.
Chap. 374	Private Zilla School, Chapra	Baidyanath Verma	Kashinath Verma	Do.
Chap. 361	S. B H. E. School, Dhanao	Noorul Hoda	Ekbal Hussain	Do.
Dar. 189	Kumar Ganganand Academy, Singhia	Shree Krishna Lal	Satya Narayan Lal	Do
Dar. 33	M. L. Academy, Laheria Sarai	Brahmadeo Prasad Mallick	Jagdo Lal Mallick	Do.
Dar. 205	H. E. School, Nirmali	Sukhdeo Paswan	Jia Paswan	Do.
Dar. 75	G. M. S. S. H. E. School Madhubani	Uttam Panjiar	Teji Panjiar	Do.
Muz. 180	Vaisali Vidyalaya, Mahuza	Md. Tajamul Hassan	Mangroo	Do.
Muz. 294	H. E School, Desari	Thakur Nageshwar Prasad Singh	Achhebat Singh	Do.
Muz. 164	G. A. H. E. School, Lalganj	Brahamdeo Prasad Sharma	Ram Narayan Prasad Sharma	Do.

Purn. 93	H. E. School, Dhamdaha	Upendra Narain Sinha	Jaiballav Narain Sinha	Do.
Purn. 171	Private-Zilla School Purnea	Arjun Jha	Tirthanand Jha	Do.
Purn. 183	Do.	Nunu Lal Yadav	Munshi Lal Yadav	Do.
Purn. 104	S. H. E. School, Banmankhi	Kanhaiya Pd. Yadav	Bheganat Pd. Yadav	Do.
Purn. 94	Do.	Baldeo Prasad Saha	Sit Kumar Saha	Do.
Purn. 155	S. B. J. S. H. E. School. Uda-Kishunganj	Kali Prasad Singh	Haridaya Narayan Singh	Do.
Pat. 315	Patna City H. E. School, Patna City	Ram Naresh Singh	Chandradeo Singh	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1951.
Nal. 98	C. H. E. School, Hussainpur	Rameshwar Chaudhary	Jharo Chaudhary	Debarred from appearing at any University examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1952.
Nal. 99	Do.	Ramnath Chaudhary	Jhari Chaudhary	Do.
Nal. 152	H. E. School, Bind	Bepin Behari Prasad Singh	Gurshiya Mabtoon	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1949.

DELHI UNIVERSITY

A Notification of the University of Delhi stating that the under-mentioned candidates for the various University examinations held in April-May, 1949, who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination, have been disqualified from passing the examination held in April-May, 1949 :—

Name of examination	Roll No.	Enrol No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	College from which sent
(1) Qualifying	575	...	Suganlal N. Tulsiani	Naraindas T. Tulsiani	Delhi
(2) Do.	298	...	Prabhakar Nath	Lt. Col. Bhola Nath	St. Stephen's
(3) Intermediate (Sp. Panjab Course)	140	...	Ramani Gulraj Raghumal	Shri Rughumal	Hindu

The undermentioned candidates for the various University examinations held in April-May, 1949 who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been disqualified from passing the examination held in April-May, 1949 and have been further debarred from appearing at any examination of this University for the period noted against each :—

Name of examination	Roll No.	Enrol No.	Name of candidate	Father's name	Coll. from which sent	Period for which debarred
Qualifying	232	...	Krishan Lal	L. Gopi Ram Sood	Hanaraj	Debarrad for 1 year.
,,	471	...	Yoginder Sain Mehta	Shri Inder Sain Mehta	Delhi	Do.
,,	441	...	Uggar Sain	Bakhshi Ram Nararg	,,	Do.
,,	493	...	Giyan N. Khanchandani	Shri Nenumal	,,	Do.
Pre-Medical	78	H6898	Mahesh Chand Sharma	Pandit Keshoram	Hindu	Debarred for 2 years
,,	80	H6959	Yash Bir Jaggi	L. Birchand Jaggi	,,	Do.
,,	59	H6957	Paramijit Singh Nalwa	Savar Bahadur S. Balwant Singh Nulwa	,,	Do.
,,	130	H6148	Bimla Sahajpal (G)	Mr. Jagdish Prasad Sahajpal	,,	Do.
Inter. (Sp. Punjab Course)	142	H7049	Inder Narain Mehra	Shri Lakshmi Narain Mehra	,,	Do.

Calcutta University
Special Bengali Publication Series

The university has undertaken publication of a series of books in Bengali in different branches of knowledge. The series is primarily intended for the general readers and students, the subject matter being dealt with in a simple and non-technical manner.

Recent books under the series :

Bangla Sahityer Katha
By Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. pp. 210+xvi. Rs. 2-8.

Prachin Bangla Sahityer Katha
By Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. pp. 128+142+viii.

Bangla Chander Mulsutra
(FOURTH EDITION)
By Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyay, M.A., P.R.S.
Demy 8vo. pp. 236+ix. Rs. 4.

Bangla Nataker Utpatti o Kramabikas
By Manmathamohan Basu, M.A.
Demy 8vo. pp. 266+xv. Rs. 7.

Bankimchandrer Bhasha
By Ajarchandra Sarkar, D. Demy 16 mo.
pp. 120+xxix. Rs. 2.

Gitar Bani
By Anilbaran Ray, Demy 8vo. pp. 161+ii.

Upanishader Alo
By Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. (Shortly to be published).

Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan
By Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt.
Royal 8vo. pp. 285+ix+note xvi+synopsis 99+ix. Rs. 5.

Patanjal Yogadarsan
(SECOND EDITION
By Swami Hariharananda Aranya, Royal 8vo. pp. 806+viii.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1949

CONTENTS

PAGE

Sri Aurobindo and the fundamental contradiction in human life
Dr. S. C. Chatterjee 161

The Cinderella of Literature
Kamal Krishna Ghosh 168

The Maritime People of Ancient India
Pareshchandra Dasgupta 176

Mass Migration from West Punjab
B. Krishna 182

Special Convocation at Columbia 192

Pandit Nehru's Address 194

Panchayat Raj in U. P.
Dr. N. C. Ray 202

Round the World 211

Reviews and Notices of Books 219

Ourselves 223

Notifications 229

The Pioneer House for quality cloth for Gents & Ladies
Woollen, Cotton, Silk, Viyella and Clydella
in various latest designs and shades.
We guarantee entire satisfaction.

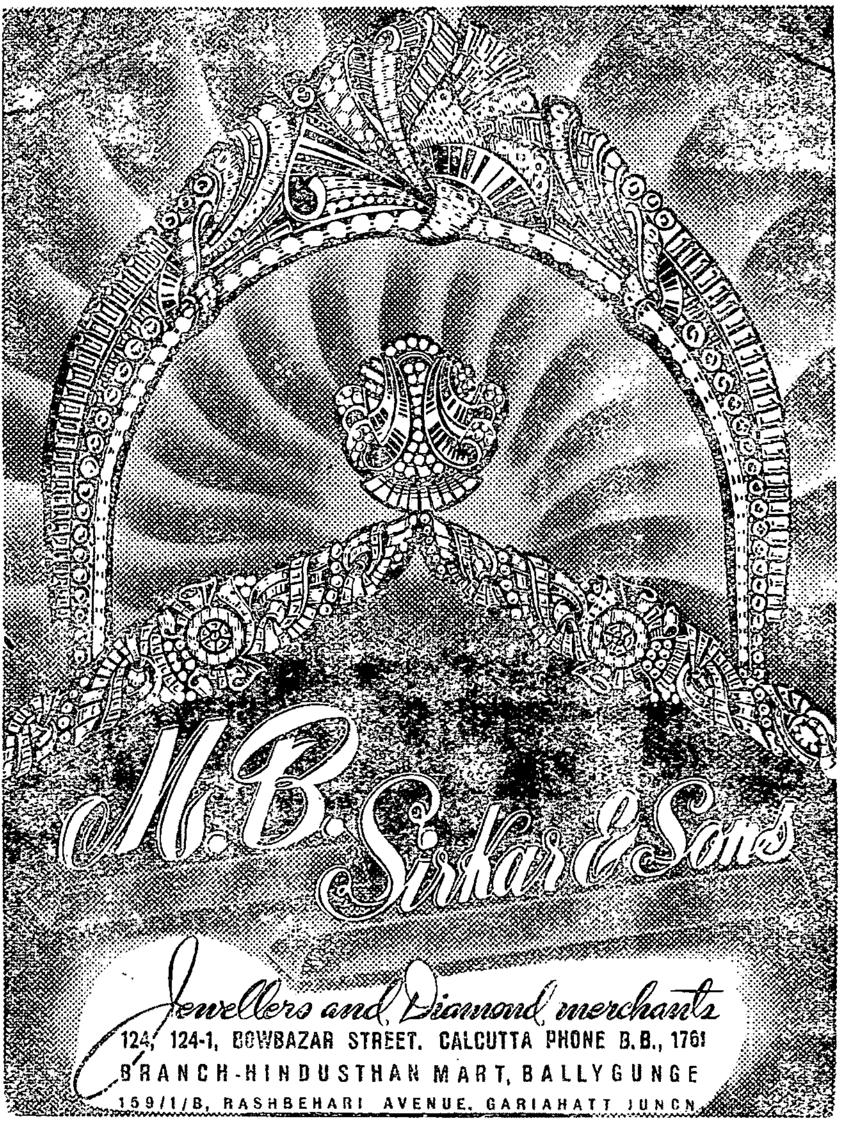
J. S. MOHAMEDALLY

Phone—CITY 1742 Telegram—SOFTWEAR

CLOTH MERCHANT

TOWER HOUSE : CHOWRINGHEE SQUARE : CALCUTTA

NO BRANCH IN CALCUTTA



N. B. Sirkar & Sons

Jewellers and Diamond merchants

124, 124-1, BOWBAZAR STREET. CALCUTTA PHONE B.B., 1761
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE
159/1/B, RASHBEHARI AVENUE, GARIAHATT JUNCN.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1949

SRI AUROBINDO AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION IN HUMAN LIFE[1]

DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

The fundamental contradiction that has torn asunder the reflective life of man almost from its very beginning and marked its onward march through the ages and may be traced even in its latest development, is the conflict between matter and spirit. This conflict seems to affect and influence almost all the departments of his life and all the spheres of his activities. A living human being has a body that binds him to this world with an iron chain of which the links are constituted by hunger, thirst, sensual appetites, sex impulses and other organic needs. He has a mind that has a natural impulse towards carnal pleasures, earthly possessions and worldly gains, and, as such, is naturally swayed and dominated by desire, hatred, and infatuation, anger, fear and torpor. But the spirit in him refuses to be laid low with the burden of the body, or be lost in the maze of natural impulses and passions of the mind. It wants to soar high above the limitations of the mind-body, breathe the pure atmosphere of freedom, unfettered by its bodily and mental setting, and realise its destined goal in the life divine—in pure existence, consciousness and bliss (sat-cit-ānanda)—in Truth, Beauty and Goodness (satyam-śivam-sundaram).

If this sense of a fundamental contradiction has troubled man from the beginning of his enlightened existence, the attempt to reconcile it, or at least to overcome it, is no less primeval, but belongs to the earliest period of his awakened thoughts, of his civilisation and culture. Signs of it are to be found in almost all the spheres of man's practical and intellectual life. In his practical life, it takes the form of an unceasing struggle to preserve and perfect his existence in the world, to eliminate the pain and misery to which his mortal frame is subject, and to overcome disease, decay and death. In the numerous sciences which man's thought and reason have built up, we find evidences of man's determined efforts to extend the bounds of his knowledge to its utmost limits, of his constant quest of the truth in whatever form, and of his unconquerable will to conquer the forces of nature and establish complete mastery over it. In the different fine arts which man's creative genius has invented and developed, there is an ardent endeavour to discover the beauty of the supersensible in sensuous forms, or to re-produce the formless divine beauty in artistic forms and express the Inexpressible through rhythmic expressions. The many religions of the world are man's different ways—some crude and primitive, some refined and enlightened—of approaching and communing with the Divine and participating in the Infinite Bliss which God is, but man in his ignorance elsewhere seeks.

---

[1] Paper read at the Philosophical Conference held in Calcutta in connection with the birthday anniversary of Sri Aurobindo, 1949.

But all these ways of removing the fundamental contradiction in human life are of the nature of incomplete solutions and momentary conciliations. Neither the success of his practical activities, nor the achievements of his sciences can lead him to the desired goal of a happy, permanent reconciliation between the forces of matter and those of spirit that enter into the constitution of his complex being. His aesthetic and religious experiences have no doubt a great value in so far as these help him to rise above the limitations of his finitude and hold communion with the infinite life of the Divine. But, after all, these are momentary flights of the human soul on the wing of ecstasy into the serene atmosphere of the divine life, only to be followed by a descent to the perch of its divided mundane existence. Further, as a rational being man cannot remain long satisfied with any solution of the most urgent problem of his life, unless it commends itself to the acceptance of the critical faculty of reason in him. What is, therefore, wanted is a rational reconciliation of the contradiction between matter and spirit, which, by virtue of its consistency and comprehensiveness, will rationalise and stabilise the temporary solutions otherwise arrived at by man. And this is the task of philosophy.

But when one comes to philosophy itself one is struck by the difference of opinion among philosophers, the divergence of their views as to what a rational and perfectly satisfactory reconciliation of the conflict between matter and spirit is or should be. Philosophical thought has in all ages moved between two opposite extremes, neither of which appears to be acceptable to our thought and reason. Some philosophers like the materialists in Indian and Western philosophy have given the primacy to matter and reduced spirit either to a non-entity or to an epiphenomenon, a by-product of matter. Others like some idealists, absolutists and spiritualists have gone to the opposite extreme and made spirit the sole reality and matter a mirage, an illusion, or an idea of the mind, or at best represented it as a secondary principle deriving its reality from the spirit. There are still other philosophers who like Descartes in the West or the *dvaitins* and the Sāṅkhyās in India, hold that matter and spirit are two opposite principles and that their contradiction is the final word in philosophy, or that their relation and reconciliation are matters of conjectural constructions which do not stand to reason. Again, even when admitting the reality of both, philosophers differ widely in their views regarding the nature and constitution of matter and spirit and are logically led to different views about their relation and reconciliation. There seems to be general agreement, however, among them as to the nature and the constituents of matter, for here the philosopher accepts the unanimous verdict of the scientists. But regarding the nature of spirit, philosophical views range from the rigorous monism of Śaṅkara, of which an exact parallel is not to be found elsewhere in the history of human thought, to the monadology of Leibniz, 'the present thought' of William James, or the stream of consciousness (vijñāna-dhārā) of the Yogācāra school of Bauddha philosophy. The seeker after truth is perplexed and bewildered in the face of this veritable labyrinth of philosophical views and needs the guidance of a life and a light to find his way in and reach the desired goal, *viz.*, the right reconciliation between matter and spirit. In Sri Aurobindo and his *The Life Divine* we have such a life and such a light—a saintly life that inspires and a beacon light that guides the sincere seeker after truth and salvation.

This truth, says Sri Aurobindo, must be one that entirely reconciles the claims of matter and spirit and can give to both their due portion in Life and their due justification in Thought. All extreme statements in philosophy in this regard are of the nature of mere compromises between matter and spirit, which are neither satisfying nor final. True reconciliation proceeds by a mutual comprehension leading to some sort of intimate oneness. It is through the utmost possible unification of matter and spirit that we shall best arrive at their reconciling truth and so at some strongest foundation for a harmonious life of the individual.

The first meeting-place for the two antagonists is to be found in Sri Aurobindo's conception of the cosmic consciousness in which matter becomes real to spirit, and spirit becomes real to matter. The idea of a cosmic consciousness is not strange nor illegitimate in philosophy. Modern science assures us of the operations of one cosmic energy underlying and evolving the world of many physical things, living beings and sentient minds. Now if the cosmic energy produces matter, life and mind with consciousness, at different stages of the world's evolution, we are to admit some universal consciousness, of which the cosmic energy is the outflow and manifestation. All energy or power is ultimately the energy or activity of some conscious being. As Sri Aurobindo puts the matter in his own way: "The world is real precisely because it exists only in consciousness; for it is a Conscious Energy one with Being that creates it." We too, in own way, may say that a cosmic consciousness must be related to a cosmic object, *i.e.*, the material world, and a cosmic object must be related to a cosmic consciousness, for to be conscious is to know some *thing* and to be an object is to be known by some *mind* or consciousness.

But the stable ground for a glorious reconciliation between spirit and matter is laid down by Sri Aurobindo in his conception of the omnipresent Reality as pure existence-consciousness-bliss and as the unknowable beyond, *i.e.*, as the Brahman. This, he says, is 'the real Monism, the true Advaita, which admits all things as the one Brahman and does not seek to bisect Its existence into two incompatible entities, an eternal Truth and an eternal Falsehood, Brahman and not-Brahman, Self and not-Self, a real Self and an unreal, yet perpetual Māyā.' Brahman is the omnipresent reality of which neither the Non-Being at the one end nor the universe at the other are negations that annul; they are rather different states of the Reality. The highest experience of this Reality in the universe shows it to be not only a conscious Existence, but a supreme Intelligence and Force and a self-existent Bliss; and beyond the universe it is still some other unknowable existence, some utter and ineffable Bliss.

When we fix our dispassionate gaze on the world with the intent only of discerning the Truth, we perceive a boundless energy of infinite existence, infinite movement, infinite activity pouring itself out in infinite Space and unlimited Time. What is this All, this infinite and omnipotent energy? Both the logical reason in us and the wisdom of Vedānta assert that this movement is an aspect of a great timeless, spaceless, motionless Existence which is immutable, inexhaustible, actionless though containing all this action. This is pure existence—existence without quantity, without quality, without form and so ineffable and indescribable. Therefore, we say that pure existence is an Absolute and in itself unknowable by our thought, although we can go back to it in a supreme identity in ecstatic experience. What then becomes of the universal movement? Motion being relative to the motionless; we are to say that it contains and is contained in and is the Absolute.

The pure existent, then is the fundamental reality. But, let us hasten to add, the movement, the energy, the becoming are also a fact, also a reality. We have, therefore, two fundamental facts of pure existence and of world-existence, a fact of Being and a fact of Becoming. We must accept the double fact, admit both Śiva and Kālī, the motionless and the moving, and try to understand their relation. The question we have to ask ourselves first is whether the universal energy which all of us must admit, is an unintelligent energy, an unconscious power, a mechanical force, or whether it is a conscious energy and an intelligent power. Sri Aurobindo's answer to this question is that it is really power of *cit*, conscious force, in its nature force of creative self-conscience. But the question still remains: How did this movement come to take place at all in the bosom of existence which in itself is motionless and of which, therefore, it is not the essence? The answer most approved by the ancient Indian thinkers as also by Sri Aurobindo is that Force is inherent in Existence, Śiva and Kālī, Brahman and Śakti are one and not two who are separable. This Force inherent in existence may be at rest or it may be in motion. But when it is at rest, it exists none the less and is not abolished, diminished, or in any way essentially altered.

So we see that conscious force or *cit* is inherent in conscious existence, and the question of how the movement takes place in the pure existent does not arise. The only question that now remains is this: Why should this possibility of a play of movement of Force translate itself at all? Why should the potentiality or possibility of movement become an actuality at all, why should it not remain eternally concentrated in itself as potential power, free from all stirrings and strivings? We may indeed suppose a conscious Being which is subject to its nature of Force, compelled by it and without any option as to whether it shall manifest in the universe or remain unmanifest. Such is the God of the Tāntrikas and the Īśvara of the Māyāvādins, who is subject to Śakti or Māyā. But such a God is not the supreme infinite Existence with which we are concerned here. In a conscious existence which is absolute, independent of its works and formations, we must admit an inherent freedom to manifest or not to manifest the potentiality of movement. If, then, being free to move or remain eternally still, to throw itself into forms or retain the potentiality of forms in itself, we find that it indulges its power of movement, it can be only for one reason, for delight. The ultimate Existence of the Vedāntins is not merely bare existence ; it is a conscious existence, the very nature of which is bliss. An absolute existence which is unfettered, unhampered, unbounded infinite consciousness is by its very nature bliss itself. Absoluteness of conscious existence is illimitable bliss of conscious existence ; the two are only different phrases for the same thing. For us, all discontent and dissatisfaction mean limitation of some kind. Freedom from limitations of any kind, is perfect happiness. The more we can get over the limitations of life, the happier shall we be. This is so because our original being is the absolute in full possession of its infinite self-consciousness and self-power ; a self-possession whose other name is delight. The self-delight of Brahman is not limited. Just as its force of consciousness is capable of throwing itself into forms infinitely, so also its self-delight is capable of movement, of variation, of revelling in that infinite flux and mutability of itself represented by innumerable universes. To loose forth and enjoy this infinite movement and variation of its self-delight is the object of its creative play of Force. In other words, the one Brahman who is pure existence, conscious force and bliss, all in one, manifests Itself in numberless universes to enjoy the infinite movement and multifar ous variation of its self-delight.

Here then in Sri Aurobindo's conception of an omnipresent reality we have a truth which reconciles the contradiction between spirit and matter in a way which is perhaps more satisfying than any other way of doing it. Spirit and matter are not alien and antagonistic to each other as they are generally supposed to be. Rather, they are kindred and complementary aspects of the same reality. It is the same Brahman that stands revealed in both, but in different ways and different forms. Matter reveals itself as the figure and body of spirit—spirit in its self-formative extension. Spirit reveals itself as the soul, the truth, the essence of matter. Both admit and confess each other as divine, real and essentially one. Mind and Life are disclosed as at once figures and instruments of the supreme conscious Being by which It manifests Itself in material form and in that form unveils itself to its multiple centres of consciousness—the individual souls. Mind attains its self-fulfilment when it becomes a pure mirror of the Truth of Being which expresses itself in the symbols of the universe ; Life, when it consciously lends its energies to the perfect self-figuration of the Divine in the ever-new forms and activities of the universal existence. Man becomes perfect only when he has found within himself that absolute calm and tranquillity of the Brahman and supports by it, with the same divine tolerance and the same divine bliss, a free and inexhaustible activity. Mukti or salvation for man lies, not in apathy and indifference to the world's affairs nor in withdrawal from life and its activities, but in absolute peace and freedom of the soul within, and ceaseless disinterested activity without, in the cause of universal love, service and happiness (maitrī, karuṇā, muditā), of Truth, Beauty and Goodness (satyam, śivam, sundaram).

TRANSLATION—THE CINDERELLA OF LITERATURE

KAMAL KRISNA GHOSH, M.A.

Professor, Krishnagar College

II

We now come to the very difficult problem of, " an appropriate metre." A metre, it should be remembered, is no mere extraneous appendage of a poem ; it grows naturally with a poem, for it is the vehicle of the music of the poem. Each metre therefore, by its own peculiar movement, its own system of rise and fall or shortness or/and length of sounds, echoes the surge of feelings in the mind of a poet, and is therefore quite appropriate in its place and cannot be replaced by another without a loss of the natural music and a consequent detriment to the general effect of the poem. Matthew Arnold points out that much of the general effect of poetry depends upon this movement of a poem ; and according to him, to reproduce this general effect is the " translator's indispensable business and so difficult for him." The swing of Homer's hexameter for example, has almost defied all English metrical substitutes, and alone of all the translators of Homer, Chapman, with his fourteen syllabic line, according to Matthew Arnold, has to a certain extent succeeded in reproducing the swing of the bellow-like Homeric metre, " the surge and thunder " of Homer, and *that* is the secret of his tremendous effect on Keats. Exactly the same metrical difficulty is to be met with in the case of translations from Sanskrit poetry also. The scheme of Sanskrit metres with their quantitative basis has a movement depending on " a recurrent pattern and long and short syllables " * which it is impossible to reproduce either in English metres with their accentual system " depending on a recurrent pattern of accented and unaccented syllables " * or in modern Bengali metres, with their almost total absence of both quantity and accent and their emphasis on the mere number of words comprising a line. Kalidas's famous lyric *Meghaduta* has always been a favourite with the Bengali translators no doubt ; but not even the faintest echo of the magical movement of the original measure has been or *can* ever be reproduced. The gifted Bengali poet Satyendranath Datta made a magnificent attempt in translating into Bengali in the original Sanskrit measure, a few opening lines of *Meghaduta,* but it was in the nature of a literary *tour-de-force* and could not be extended to the entire poem. *Meghaduta* was translated into English verse by Sir William Jones, but in metrical music his English translation also is as far apart from the original as is the north pole from the south. The great German poet Goethe fell into raptures, no doubt, over Kalidas's other masterpiece, *Sakuntala.* But he was by no means influenced by the music of Kalidas's verse, for he had his acquaintance through a version which could hardly reproduce the movement of the original.

---

* Introduction to the Faber Book of Modern Verse, pub. by Faber and Faber.

Taking into consideration this difficulty of transferring the music of the original metre to the metre of another language and finding none of the English metrical translations of Homer completely successful, Matthew Arnold is compelled to concede that "a good verse translation of Homer, or indeed of any poet is very difficult and that a good prose translation is much easier. " But even a good prose translation does not give the pleasure which verse translation alone gives, and so Matthew Arnold is loth to give up the medium of verse translation. He says that "we ought not to cease wishing for a source of pleasure which no prose translation can ever hope to rival." "The pale and far-off shadow of a prose translation," to use again a phrase of Matthew Arnold, usually, cannot be expected to reproduce the music and so give the effect of the original.

This leads to us another important topic, to which we have to devote our special attention now. We must not forget that it is through the medium of *prose* that the *Authorized Version* of the Bible has been rendered, and this rendering is such a marvellous literary achievement that a deep and thorough consideration of its success is necessary. Professor Albert Cook of Yale University in his learned essay on the *Authorized Version* in the "Cambridge History of English Literature" (Vol. IV) points out that the original Hebrew possesses "a rhythm largely independent of the features, prosodical or other of any individual language," a rhythm which he calls the rhythm of meaning or what Watts Dunton has called "sense-rhythm." This peculiar rhythm, however was due to the very nature of Hebrew poetry itself, *viz.*, a parallelism of thought as well as form and was therefore "susceptible of infinite variety." (Prof. D. H. Lowes.)

Professor Moulton well described this movement of Hebrew poetry thus: "Like the swing of pendulum to and fro, like the tramp of an army marching in step, the versification of the Bible moves with a rhythm of parallel lines, " and he illustrated this neatly to his students by referring them to verses 8-15 of the 105th Psalm. We will here quote a few opening verses from this Psalm to make this point clear. Let us first read the passage omitting all the alternate and parallel lines thus:

> He hath remembered his covenant for ever: the covenant which he made with Abraham, and confirmed the same unto Jacob for a statute saying, "Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan" etc., etc.

If we now read this passage in full, that is, preserving all the parallelisms, we will find that what was prose is suddenly transmuted into a grand movement of verse :

He hath remembered his covenant for ever,
    The word which he commanded to a thousand generations
The covenant which he made with Abraham,
    And his oath unto Isac:
And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a statute,
    To Israel for an everlasting covenant:
Saying, "Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan,
    The lot of your inheritance"......

Quoted from *The Literary Study of the Bible* by Richard G. Moulton, in the "Outline of Literature," Vol. I. Edited by John Drinkwater, George Newnes Ltd.) "The rapid stroke as of alternate wings," says Dean Stanley, 'the heaving and sinking as of the troubled heart', which have been beautifully described as the essence of the parallel structure of Hebrew verse, are exactly suited for the endless play of human feeling. (Prof. D. H. Lowes in his essay, "The Noblest Monument of English prose.")

This peculiar feature of Hebrew poetry, *viz.*, the principle of repetition due to the parallelism of thought and form has been so predominant in Hebrew literature that it has automatically simplified the whole problem of translation. For the effect of Hebrew poetry, as we have already seen depends not on a metrical system, but on the sense ; so this effect, as Matthew Arnold points out, can be preserved and rendered in a foreign language as the effect of other poetry cannot be." "The effect of Homer, of Virgil or of Dante can never be successfully rendered because the literary architecture of these poets has to be pulled to piece and cannot be rebuilt to alien music." (The Outline of Literature Vol. I, Edited by John Drinkwater, George Newnes, Ltd.) "Isaiah's, on the other hand, is a poetry as is well known of parallelism ; it depends not on metre or rhythm, but on a balance of thought, conveyed by a corresponding balance of sentence ; and the effect of this *can* be transferred to another language."

Prof. Lowes of Harvard University in his essay on the *Authorized Version* already referred to, has dilated on this topic in a masterly way. His elucidation of this particular topic is so well done that a detailed reference to this portion of his essay is almost indispensable in a study of the problem of the technique of translation. We therefore make no apology to quote him in *extenso*, as we have done in the present paragraph. He says that, under stress of emotion our speech takes a "more or less measured and inevitable beat" and thus is produced a peculiar rhythm which he has called the "inner rhythm," a rhythm which is superior to the rhythm of verse being "infinitely more varied, less susceptible of formulation ; ebbing and flowing—sometimes even surging, pulsing, throbbing—with the systole and diastole of the emotion, controlled or unrestrained, which gives its birth." (Prof. Lowes) Now Biblical literature, being to an unrivalled degree, tinged with feeling, possesses this "inner rhythm," which unlike poetic rhythm, is quite independent of metrical schemes.

The translators of the *Authorized Version*, therefore, with true poetic instinct, abjured the mere outward metrical structure of the original, and thus avoided "the luckless fate of innumerable translations in the metres of the original." Knowing full well that "poetic rhythms are as a rule incorrigibly untranslatable" (being entirely dependent on their metrical schemes), they paid no heed to the "pedantic theories of the technique of Hebrew verse." Instead of wasting their effort in a vain attempt to reproduce the outward structure, they "responded to the inner spirit," they felt "the deep *inner* rhythm of the surging thought or feeling" of the original, and so avoiding technical exactness, had recourse to a freer medium, a prose style," whose rhythms, so moulded, have a flexibility, a stateliness, a grand freedom, which even the original does not always share." (Prof. Lowes), and so succeeded to *re*-produce the intensity of feeling which had moved the original authors.

From the above discussion one very important point emerges, *viz.*, that there is such a thing as *inner rhythm*, a measured and inevitable beat due to the "alternating surge of thought or feeling" as opposed to *metrical rhythm*, which is outward only. *The translators of the Authorized Version have thus supplied us with a very important cue* *viz., that in the very difficult task of transferring from one language to another without detriment to the effect of the original, the translator has the greater chance of being successful, if he can feel this inner rhythm ; and this will be possible only if the translator can merge himself with his original. So this takes us back to the opening of the second part of our essay, where we* have already stressed this point. If the translator suceeeds to merge himself with the original, he will feel the same emotions and passions, and thus will respond to the inner spirit." (Prof. Lowes) It is the inner spirit, the inner impulses that count first, and not the original metre, which is after all a mere outward trapping. First things first. Adherence to the original metre precludes our attention from this inner spirit, and thus a mere copy of the original metre becomes lifeless and so cannot bring back the effect of the original. The translator therefore need not much bother himself about "pedantic theories of the technique of the original verse," for these techniques can never be transferred from one language to another. The translator should therefore try to feel the *pulse* of the machine and understand the *inner* impulses that supply the motor force of the external machine. If the translator succeeds in feeling the inner rhythm, the rise and fall of the surging emotions and passions, he may choose any medium, be it some poetical metre different from the original, forced by the exigencies of a new language or be it prose, the prose of the type of *Authorized Version. But the new medium must be of such a mould as to be a suitable vehicle of the original impulses.* If therefore prose can be moulded suitably (and the intensity of passion will inevitably so mould it), there can be no objection to the medium of prose even. Charged with noble feelings, permeated by passions, aglow with fire, this prose too will rise and fall, move and dance, surge and throb. Barring only the metrical structure this prose will be pure poetry, prose will be lifted here to the realm of poetry. Translation into such a prose need not therefore be a "pale and far-off shadow," to repeat here the phrase of Matthew Arnold. Prose transmuted by the touch of passion will undergo a sea-change and become something rich and strange. The swing and rhythm of such a prose will echo the original impulses with the same degree of intensity as in the original metre.

This prose, which has been variously termed "cadenced prose or cadenced verse (as opposed to metrical verse)," being untrammelled by any metrical restrictions, is an extremely flexible medium; it can easily adapt itself to all the varied changes in the gamut of emotion and so is susceptible of every variety of music.

It can thus be an ideal medium for translation. Professor Moulton in his invaluable work, *The Literary Study of the Bible*, might allege that in the *Authorized Version* all the sweet or magnificent outbursts of poetry are printed in prose and as such the Bible is the worst printed book in the world. Professor Moulton, however, we should say, is here moved more by emotion than by reasoning. He cannot endure the sight of such magnificent lines without the outer garb of regular verse forms But as we have already noted prose here has been lifted to the realm of poetry, prose has to a certain extent invaded the realm of poetry, and the time is fast approaching, let us hazard here a prophecy, when following the masterly example of the *Authorized Version* the cumbrous metrical structure might be relegated to the dust-heep and this supple medium, call it "cadenced prose" or "cadenced verse" untrammelled as it is by the restrictions of the regular verse, will be utilized to its fullest extent. The line of distinction between prose and poetry will thus be blurred, and a new literary medium will be ushered into existence. Macpherson in his *Ossian* became successful through this medium. Whitman took up this medium and some English poets in the days preceding the first World War used this medium. Rabindranath Tagore in his matchless English translations utilised this medium—he showed successfully how even where the special advantage of Hebrew poetry, *viz.*, parallel structure, does not exist, such a medium can be highly successful. Had Rabindranath chosen to retain in his English version all the subtle niceties of his Bengali versification, ten to one, his English translations would not have been the "the things of beauty and joy for ever" that they have become. Such a prose medium, therefore, has a substantial advantage over regular verse form and deserves wider application.

There is yet another medium almost akin to this Biblical prose. This new medium approaches it in effect and indeed it is not always easy to distinguish between the two. (See *The Times Literary Supplement*, October 9, 1948.) This new medium, already a favourite form with modern poets, is known as "free verse." Its rhythm appeals to the ear alone. Untrammelled by any metre, it is as supple, as flexible, as the "cadenced prose" or "cadenced verse" of the English Bible. Over and above, this "free verse" having no association with the Biblical rhythms has no tendency to fall into archaic diction, and thus further succeeds to convey fully the poetic tension and tautness of line. (*The Times Literary Supplement*, Ibid.). Untrammelled by any metrical fetter, this free verse lends itself easily to the creation of new rhythms and thus becomes a highly suitable medium for the expression of varied moods, and as such the individuality of a poet may often be better expressed in free verse than in conventional forms. (*Introduction to the Faber Book of Modern Verse.*) That is why free verse has become a favourite form with modern poets. And when in translation we have to deal with varied authors, each with his individual mood, such a form as the "free verse" seems just the medium. Professor Richmond Lattimore has recenly used this with some success in his translatoin of the *Odes of Pindar.*[*]

Enough has been by this time said about the technique of the translation of the *Authorized Version.* Our Essay will be incomplete if we do not consider the technique of the Elizabethan translators as well, who had played a very important part, as we have seen already. It must be noted at the outset, that the Elizabethan translators were no scholars at all and so they pursued their craft, not in "the narrow spirit of mere scholarship."[†] It must be remembered also that many of them were "men of the world, who made their versions to beguile a leisure snatched from the conduct of affairs." Their method was "careless," and not scholarly. So their translations have one great advantage, *viz.*, that they are "unsoiled by pedantry," "they don't smell of the lamp." They were "accurate neither in word nor in shape." They "followed the text as remotely as they imitated the style of their originals." In short, "the translators of Elizabeth's age pursued their craft in the spirit of bold adventure which animated Drake and Hawkins. It was their ambition to discover new worlds of thought and beauty. They sailed the wide ocean of knowledge to plant their colonies of intellect where they might, or to bring back to English shores some eloquent stranger, whom their industry had taught to speak with the English tongue." Thus these Elizabethan translations were more or less in the nature of literary conquests. So "they turned the authors of Greece and Rome not merely into a new language but into the feeling of another age and clime. In other words, their books carry with them the lively air of brave originals." This method of translation is possible only in an age like Elizabethan, when there was a fulness of life, when literature was not the exclusive preoccupation of scholars only, but when everyone out of the very fulness of life, went out conquering and to conquer, not simply material kingdoms, but far richer literary kingdoms, those true "realms of gold." Those translators were imbued with the spirit of pioneers, they were not mere armchair scholars, brothering about the niceties of their originals. Obviously it will not be possible for translators of other ages to capture the spirit that moved these Elizabethan translators.

---

[*] *The Odes of Pindar.*—Translated by Richmond Lattimore. University of Chicago Press. London : Cambridge University Press. 15*s*. Received in the *Times Literary Supplement*, Saturday, October 9, 1948.

[†] We have based this paragraph on the Cambridge History of English Literature, all the passages quoted here are from this source.

We have now come to the end of our subject. After the detailed and thorough treatment of the subject of 'translation,' it is now clear that translation is an important literary vehicle worthy of the highest consideration, and that it is withal a medium which is not at all easy to master. The translator should, therefore, proceed with his task, not in any spirit of flippancy, but imbued with a sense of its importance and greatness. The mission of 'translation' is noble, and it is only when we are conscious of the immense potentiality and the noble role of 'translation' that this Cinderella will be restored to her rightful place.

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

III

THE ARYANS

It is generally held by scholars that the Early Ṛgvedic Aryans had no clear knowledge of the sea. Thus, P. Giles says "in the evidence for the early history of the speakers of these Indo-European or Indo-Germanic languages there is nothing which would lead us to suppose that they lived in an island. Indeed it is very doubtful whether they possessed a world for sea at all. For the word 'mare' which in Latin means 'the sea' has its nearest relatives in other languages amongst words which mean 'moor' or 'swamp'". Moreover, the scholar locates the Early Aryan cradle in mountain-girt Loess lands in Europe. The suggestion of P. Giles cannot stand as true on the ground that in one Ṛgvedic Saṁhitā the word "Samudra" definitely occurs. Although it is true that "Samudra" here may not mean "a sea" but it may signify any sheet of water, it should be at the same time borne in mind that if Giles is true, the migrating Aryans had to cross the Marmora or at least had to be acquainted with the Black sea or the Mediterranean sea in the early days. Because, he himself observes about the route of Aryan migration that "There is in fact no evidence that, the ancestors of the Persians, Afghans and the Hindus passed through Turkesthan at all. Nor is passage through the Caucasus probable: to people wandering from Europe the Caucasus was a remote and inhospitable region, so remote and inhospitable that Aeschylus selected it as the place of torment for Prometheus and tells us that it was a pathless wilderness.[1] There is indeed no reason to suppose that earlier men followed another route than that which has been taken by successive waves of migrating populations in historical times. That path leads across either the

---

[1] "Prometheus bound" by Aeschylus translated by Jane Case; p 21.

Kratos : "We are to a plain of earth, her uttermost, to Skythia's track, an untrodden wilderness. It is for thee, Hephaistos, to fulfil the charge which the father enjoined upon thee to fix beetling crags this doer of bold deeds (*i.e.*, Prometheus) in bonds unbreakable of adamantine chain."

Bosphorus or Dardanelles across the plateau of Asia-Minor or along its fertile slopes in the south side of the Black-sea."

Now, Gordon Childe who does not believe in the hypothesis of Giles, thinks that the Aryans first originated in the south-Russian steppes. His suggestion is based upon the archaeological evidence of the discovery of so-many ochre-graves (graves containing contracting skeletons coloured with red ochre and surmounted by a mound or Kurghan) in south-Russia. These graves, according to him, enclosed the corpses of the Early Aryan folk. Moreover, a connection between the Aryans and the early vase-painters[1] who spread "from the Yellow Sea to the Adriatic" is hinted. If the location of the Early Aryan habitat by Giles is true we cannot deny the association of the talented nomads with sea or large lakes. Surely, some thousands of years ago Caspian-Sea was much bigger than her present size and a great portion of the Caspian depression perhaps in the region of Astrakhan where Volga flows, was submerged by Neptune. Except this there are other big lakes though formidably apart by miles, like the Aral, the Balkhash and the Baikal upon whose shores the first Aryan culture might have developed in the dawn of human civilisation.

In Chapter VIII Childe suggests about a possible maritime contact between the Aryans who settled on the shores of the Black-Sea and the more civilised peoples of outside.

Thus he questions "Did bands of Nordics, venturing into the the passes of the Caucasus gilmpse from afar the garden of Eden (the Mesopotemian civilisation) and tempted by its wreath make raids to the South? Did Sumerian merchants and explorers in search of the metal, timber, stone, and gems, that their own alluvial land denied them, penetrate into the fastness of Armenia and beyond? Did Semites, descending the Halys from their colony in Cappadocia take ship and cross the Black-sea?" The scholar further points out that the Argonauts, and the Milesians in the later days maintained commercial intercourse with the nomads (who were Aryans according to him) of South-Russia.

Now, in the opinion of one group of scholars, the Indo-Europeans first developed their culture in Scandinavia. This view is generally endorsed by Carl Penke, a renowned German scholar. He put one step further the theory proposed by Latham and Omalius De Halloy that the Early Aryan Cradle is to be located somewhere in Germany. Penka's hypothesis is mainly based upon two important considerations. Firstly, the Teutons are, according to him, the purest Aryan people; and secondly, the Homeric myths citing the Cimmerians shrouded in continuous night and the tall Laestrygones in perpetual day are shown as Greek reminiscences of their Subboreal home. It may be also argued with Halloy and Latham, that the original Aryan type was the blonde race par excellence, the tall Dolichocephalic Nordic who evolved in the area between the North-sea and the Caspian. Now, Childe opposes the theory of the North-European Cradle and raises several serious objections. Firstly, the Teutons were much mixed with the Non-Aryans. Secondly, Teutonic language is phonetically much degenerate; and thirdly, the Scandinavians were from the beginning a maritime people and not a pastoral folk as he thinks about the early Aryans. But in this point probably we cannot agree with Childe. Perhaps, there are very few races and tribes if not none, which are not unmixed to-day. The same can be said about the purity of any language in the present world. Lastly, can we donounce the arguments of the advocates of the North-European Cradle by simply depending upon the meagre data of the Ṛg-Samhitas which were originally composed out of philosophical and mystic ecstasy? Probably, this would be unscientific and will be branded with severe inaccuracy. Does not Childe himself disbelieve the results of the philological investigations made by Giles? So let us consider the arguments supporting the theory of the Scandinavian habitation of the Early Indo-Aryans. Penka thinks that the Homeric (Odessy) myths citing the Cimmerians shrouded in continuous night and the Laestrygones in perpetual day are the Greek reminiscences of their Subboreal home.[1] Here the Cimmerian legend is exceptionally interesting. Ullyses while describing to the king of the Phaecians his voyage on from the island of Aeaea, under the favourite gales which Circe sent him, says,

---

[1] They were Eurafrican according to Elliot Smith and Perry; see "The growth of Civilisation", pp. 142 ff. Christian and to some extent Penke think that they were really Eurasian. T. G. Arne in "Palaeontolgca Sinica", series D. L. 2. Geological Survey of China, 1925. H. Frankfort-Studies in early pottery of the Near-East. Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional papers, 6, 1924. R. Pampelly, Explorations in Turkesthan.

"All the day long the silvery foam we clave,
Wind in the well-stretched canvas following free,

---

[1] See, Ridgeway "The Early Age of Greece," p. 358.

For the meaning of "Sub-Boreal" see, Gordon Childe's "The Progress and Archaeology," p. 7. "The remains of plants preserved in the peat mosses of the British isles, Northern Europe, the Alps and the Urals allow Botanists to deduce, still in the recent epoch of geologists, a series of consecutive climatic phases to which the names Pre-Boreal, Boreal, Atlantic, Sub-Boreal and Sub-Atlantic have been respectively applied." The process of this division is, however, not applicable in the cases of the Mediterranean basin, Africa and Southern Asia.

Till the sun stooped beneath the western wave,
And darkness veiled the spaces of the sea.
Then to the limitary land came we,
Of the sea-river, steaming deep where dwell,
Shrouded in mist and gloom continually,
That people, from sweet light secluded well,
The dark Cimmerian tribe, who skirt the realms of hell."[1]

Penka thinks that the land lay in the Scandinavian region which is the land of long dawns and nights. Perseus of the Greek legends also trodded in the Arctic area[2] where he found the three grey sisters, by the shore of the freezing sea. The Perseus legend and the Cimmerian legend about the land of continual night are very strikingly similar. The theory of Arctic home of the early Indo-Aryans was first postulated by Tilak. According to the savant "there are clear and unmistakable references to Arctic phenomena in the Ṛgveda." He thinks that there are traces of "a long day or a night of six months, and a continuous dawn of several days' duration.[3] His view is mainly based upon the following expressions which occur in the Ṛg-Saṁhitā :—

(1) Tamasāḥ. antaḥ, vii, 67, 2.
"The ends of darkness."

(2) Uru asyāṁ abhayaṁ jyotiḥ mā naḥ dirghāḥ abhinaśan tamisrāḥ, II, 27, 14.
"May I reach the broad fearless night; may not long darkness overtake us."

(3) Urmye naḥ sutara bhava, X, 127,6.
"O' night, be auspicious to us."

These lines led Tilak to believe that the Vedic bards knew by tradition the long night of the Arctic region.

The hypothesis of Tilak has been greatly criticised by N. K. Datta [4] who has endeavoured to "prove conclusively" that there are no traces of any Arctic phenomena in the Ṛgveda and the pre-historic ancestors of the Vedic Ṛṣis never lived in or about the Arctic Pole. However, Tilak's suggestion is probably indirectly supported by the enchanting legends of Uttara Kuru, which, it is presumed, lay in the Polar region.

---

[1] Homer, "Odessy," ed. by W. Lucas Collins, pp. 76-77.

[2] Charles Kingsley "The Heroes," p. 38. "And seven days he walked . . . . till he came to the edge of the everlasting night where the air was full of feathers and the soil was hard with ice."

[3] *Vide*, Tilak, "The Arctic Home in the Ṛgveda."

[4] J.D.L. Vol. XVII, 1928, pp. 39ff.

From Prapañchasudani we learn that the famous Vedic tribe of the Kurus came in India after migrating from Uttara Kuru. This land was known to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata (Ādi, 122.7). It is also mentioned by the former that the country of the Uttara Madras was near the country of the Uttara Kurus. Now, it is not known with any amount of certainty where the mysterious realm of Uttara Kuru really lay in ancient days. In this point we are to some extent helped by the geographical informations which are preserved in the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa. In one Canto the journeys of the search-parties of monkeys who were sent in quest of eloped Sita are described with considerable eloquence. The search-parties, it is said, started for different directions. The Vānara chief Satavala marched to the North at the instruction of Sugriva, the great ally of Rāma. The monkey-king addressed his brave chieftain by giving descriptions of the different northern regions. He ordered him to cross the Mainăk range in order to reach, if necessary (in course of the wanderings), the realm of Uttara Kuru:

. . . .

"Still in your forward journey keep,
And rest you on the Northern deep,
Where springing from billows high,
Mount Somagiri seeks the sky,
And lightens with perpetual glow,
The sunless realm that lies below.

. . . .

Then turn O' Vānaras, search no more,
Nor tempt the Sunless boundless shore."

Now, Nabin Chandra Das points out[1], "considering the description given in the Rāmāyaṇa, the realm of Uttara Kurus (Northern Kurus) appear to be the indefinite semi-mythic tract, which extends from the Kailāśa range and the great desert of Mongolia, on the East and South, to the Arctic ocean on the North. It probably included the countries now known as Mongolia, China and Siberia." The suggestion of N. C. Das may be wrong or vague, but this is sure that if the Rāmāyaṇic evidence is to be believed we will have to definitely place the country somewhere in the Arctic region[2]. The descriptions of Uttara Kuru tally wonderfully with those of the land of the Cimmerians of the Homeric legend and the icy country of the three grey sisters which was visited by bold Perseus. The "Uttara payasāṁ nidhi" (the northern Deep), to the south of which, lay Uttara Kuru, has been identified with the Arctic Ocean. Most probably there is also a reference of the mysterious Arctic phenomenon of Aurora Borealis in the expression "sa tu deśo visuriyo pi tasya bhāsā prakāsate".

---

[1] A note on the ancient geography of Asia compiled from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, p. 68.
Ray Chaudhuri—Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 76-77.
He thinks that "the Uttara Kuru of the Purāṇas is, however, a sort of Eldorado which ti would be futile to equate with any terrestrial region."

After studying all these it seems that the theory of the North European Cradle of the Early Aryans more likely bears the colour of utmost possibility. In that case, probably we will have to presume, the Aryans were not altogether ignorant of the sea in the days of dim past. Except the above intelligent theories pertaining to the original habitat of Early Indo-Aryans, there are also other suggestions which more or less captivate our mind and probably give undue premium to the imaginative faculty of it. Thus, the original home which may be identical with "Pratnaśyaukasaḥ" of the Ṛgveda and the "Airiyānaṁ Vaiza" of the Avesta, is placed in Asia-Minor, in Central Asia, in the Hindukush region or in the Azors isles in the Atlantic. Even if we accept the view that the Aryans originated in Central Asia we cannot say boldly that the Aryans were ignorant of any great sheet of water. Perhaps, here it will not be entirely irrelevant to mention the lakes like Balkhash, Issykul, Alakul, Lob Nor, etc., in this region. Lob Nor, in the Gobi desert, was probably far bigger than her present size in ancient days when, as it is known by the present geologists, water was much more supplied by the Kiuen-Lung glaciers. These glaciers, the survivors of those of the Ice age are wasting away their vast reservoirs, and retreating. Probably we cannot endorse the ingenuous view of Ignatius Donnely, according to which the Original home of the Aryans should be located in an submerged isle in the Atlantic. This place is identified by him with "Lost Atlantis" around which, from centuries, so many fascinating treatises have been composed. Although one can set aside the theory of the great savant by calling it a mere conjecture, possibly one cannot deny his so many scholarly data which are now intelligently drawn together.

---

[1] Ptolemy speaks of a mountain, a people and a city called Ottoro-Korro. It is a part of the country which he calls Serica. According to Lassen this country must be sought to the East of Kashgar.

See Muir—Sanskrt texts. Vol. I.

D. N. Wadia—"The support of the Himālaya mountains: Are the Himālayas compensated?" Calcutta Geographical Review, Vol. ii, June, 1939, p. 59.

MASS MIGRATION FROM WEST PUNJAB

B. KRISHNA

The day following August 15, 1947, will never be forgotten in the contemporary history of India. On this day began the mass migration of Hindus and Sikhs from Lahore to the land of their hope and succour—the land they called their beloved Bharatvarsh.

On the 16th of August the terror-stricken migrants formed only a small stream capable of being checked if the authorities desired so; thereafter hour by hour, day by day, as time passed, it swelled into a river of refugees fleeing from their centuries-old ancestral homes in West Punjab and the N. W. F. P.; and later it assumed the proportions of an ocean of humanity surging towards India—foot-columns a few miles long, comprising lakhs of women, children and men trudging along in search of security, shelter and peace.

The mass migration, unprecedented in India's history, was neither accidental nor actuated by the coming into existence at midnight August 14-15 of the Dominion of Pakistan. It was the result of a chain of events beginning with the inhuman barbarities committed on Hindus and Sikhs in Rawalpindi, Attock and Campbellpur districts and culminating in a whole week of planned killing, loot and arson in Lahore (from August 11 to 16), which undermined the minorities' confidence in the would-be Muslim rulers of West Punjab. But for a proper study of these events we shall have to begin our study from May, 1946, onwards.

II

The Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16 was a rude shock to Mr. Jinnah. It in no way recognised even the remote possibility of the establishment of Pakistan, in which he could be acclaimed by the people as their Quaid-e-Azam. Once during his early political life, Mr. Jinnah had said in an unguarded mood of self-revelation: "It is my ambition to become the Muslim Gokhale"; now in his seventies he aspired to become the Muslim Gandhi. But in the Cabinet Mission Plan he saw his chances receding back. Naturally, he suffered a great disappointment. And the result was the "Direct Action" plan, the last bid to attain the cherished goal and ideal.

A resolution to this effect was passed by the Muslim League Council in Bombay at the end of July, 1946.

After Mr. Jinnah had earlier said that it was "hopeless to solve the Indian problem by peaceful and amicable means," every Leaguer turned into a Bismarck talking loudly of "blood and iron." Without exception, Mr Jinnah's trusted lieutenants began vomiting fire and hatred, as well rattling the sabre. The Punjab leader, the Nawab of Mamdot, said in Lahore on July 13: "I ask the Mussalmans to be prepared and remember we want peace with honour, but if there were to be war (war with whom?) we shall accept the challenge." And the Bengal leader and Premier, Mr. Suhrawardy, declared in Bombay on July 29: "Let the Congress beware that it is not going to fight just a handful of people fighting for power, but a nation which is struggling for its life, and will ensure that life. We await the clarion call of the Quaid-e-Azam."

"Direct Action" was the clarion call, particularly for Bengal and the Punjab, because on these two provinces Mr. Jinnah pinned his hopes to fulfil his dream. Everybody talked of "Direct Action," yet nobody would explain its exact nature. Although Mr. Jinnah said in Bombay on July 31 that "Direct Action is not a declaration of war against anybody," he thought it was "high time for the League to get ready for a struggle to enforce its demand for Pakistan." "The resolution," he tried to explain, "is nothing but a statement concerning the steps we propose to take for our self-preservation and self-defence." But Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was perhaps a little more outspoken in his explanation of the resolution when he said in New Delhi on August 3: "Direct Action means resorting to non-constitutional methods, and that can take any form and whatever form may suit the conditions under which we live."

"Direct Action," hence, remained a top secret till the 16th of August, 1946—the day the Great Calcutta Killing began and continued uninterrupted for four days. It was the first gruesome tale of sadistic carnage and butchery in the history of communal riots in India. Mr. Firoz Khan Noon had earlier asked the Muslims to follow Jengis Khan and Halakku; the Great Calcutta Killing, in fact, put the deeds of the latter to shame.

For the first two days the Muslims had the upper hand. But afterwards the Hindus, fighting with their backs to wall, gained the initiative. It was then that the Chief Minister, Mr. Suharwardy, who was spending most of his time in Control Room, took effective steps and got the trouble stopped immediately. But the plan—for the success of which he is reported to have promised his Quaid-e-Azam —to drive away Hindus from Calcutta and make it a Muslim-majority area failed. On top of this, to the utter dismay of many Muslim Leaguers, the Muslim casualties exceeded that of the Hindus. But this did not deter "Direct Action" protagonists from pursuing further their master's behest. After a short respite, serious disturbances broke out in Noakhali and Tippera on October 14. Many people were killed, but many more were abducted, converted and forcibly married.

Riots in Calcutta and East Bengal produced serious repercussions in Bihar towards the end of October. Simple, unsophisticated Bihar Hindus were provoked to wreak vengeance by the horror stories that reached them from Bengal. No sane Hindu would support this sort of retaliation, but it served as an eye-opener to Mr. Jinnah. For the first time he came out with a statement condemning bloodshed; for the first time he talked of peace and advocated peaceful methods in achieving political ends. But this did not mean that the League altogether suspended its "Direct Action" plan; rather it was temporarily shelved for use at a more appropriate moment.

III

Britain made the last attempt at Congress-League compromise in London in December, 1946. It proved abortive; but it gave a hint to the leaders of British desire to hand over power in India. The result was the League civil disobedience movement in January, 1947, in the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. The Punjab Leaguer's claim was that, since the Premier represented a microscopic minority of the Muslim legislators, Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana had no right to rule the Muslim-majority province. In the Frontier the fight was for civil liberties by a small section of the people. Apparently the campaign in the Punjab was non-violent, but secretly the masses were being poisoned and prepared for a grim fight.

All the top League leaders in the Punjab were arrested immediately. But Sir Khizar Hayat did not take strong measures to curb the movement. It might not be absolutely correct to say that he did not want to be harsh with his own community. It was generally believed that the movement was a sort of efflorescence which would die out soon. The whole thing, in fact, had become so comically interesting that even no non-Muslim bothered about it. Most of us thought that Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, a former President of the Provincial Congress Committee, had brought into the League the Gandhian ideology and the latter would now stick to saner and peaceful methods. It was a delusion, and under its garb the League secured enough time to work up the masses, feeding their minds on dangerous and diabolical thoughts.

The too lenient attitude on the part of the Punjab authorities in dealing with the 34-day League movement produced one very serious repercussion. It corrupted and demoralised the police and services. No steps were taken by the Government to remedy this. The result was an open display of partisan spirit by Muslim Government employees. Matters drifted on, without showing any visible change, till the 20th of February, on which day Britain's Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, announced in the House of Commons His Majesty's Government's "definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948". He also announced: "His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people".

Mr. Attlee's reference to "existing provincial Governments" might not have been intended to be mischievous, but certainly it was an invitation to anarchy and chaos in the Punjab and Bengal, the latter having "miraculously" escaped it. It gave a new lease of life to the League movement; it also influenced Sir Khizar in so far as he decided not to stand in the way of his community any more. In a statement to the Press at midnight March 2-3 he made it clear: "The basic fact in the situation is that the province has been suddenly confronted with the main constitutional problem and, in conformity with the policy to which I have throughout adhered, the responsibility for dealing with this problem on behalf of the Muslims must continue to vest in the Muslim majority party. Needless to say, I and my Muslim colleagues will continue to support the Muslim demand for self determination".

The Budget session was to have begun on Monday, March 3. On Saturday at a Cabinet meeting the Premier was reported to have thrown a hint to his colleagues that he might not be able to carry on the burden for long. He did not reveal anything beyond this. Next day he told the Khan of Mamdot about his decision and later at night submitted to the Governor the resignation of his Cabinet. When the Assembly met at 12 noon on Monday, the Speaker read out two orders from the Governor, cancelling the dates for the presentation of the Budget. The House was adjourned to a date to be fixed by him.

This sudden, unexpected decision by the Premier naturally enraged the Hindus and Sikhs, because he did not take into confidence those who had acclaimed him as their leader and stood by him through the stormy months following the League's "Direct Action". In the opinion of Congress and Akali leaders, the Premier's decision was "undoubtedly calculated to facilitate the installation of the Muslim League with power in the Punjab before the transfer of power from British to Indian hands takes place". Hurried talks were held by non-Muslim leaders and it was unanimously decided to thwart the move, which, if successful, would have proved suicidal for the minorities.

A memorable, mammoth meeting was held on the night of March 3 in Kapurthala House Grounds, Lahore, which was addressed by Master Tara Singh, Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava and other leaders. In his speech Master Tara Singh declared : "We shall, if necessary, resist by force the Muslim League design to install a purely communal Government in the Punjab". Although a little sensational, there was nothing wrong in this declaration, because earlier the League had taken similar action at the time of the Congress acceptance to form the Interim Government at the Centre. Moreover, if such a pious resolve had not been taken at that critical moment, the Governor of the Punjab would have, without the least hesitation, invited the League Party to form the Cabinet.

IV

On March 4 Hindus and Sikhs took out processions and held protest meetings. This was as natural and justifiable as the League processions earlier. But the police, out of sheer malice for the Hindus, fired several times before noon on a peaceful mob of students, resulting in a few killed and a large number wounded. Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar, the Finance Minister in Sir Khizar's Cabinet, met the Governor in the afternoon and lodged a strong protest. He wanted to know why "this discrimination was made today, while the police did not think it worthwhile to take any action against League demonstrators a few days ago". It is not true that League demonstrators were non-violent; they were, in fact, unruly on many occasions. In their clashes with the police—there were none with non-

Muslims—the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Rawalpindi, and the Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, were seriously wounded and a Deputy Superintendent of Police, Lahore, manhandled. A "Civil & Military Gazette" report stated that on February 24 the League agitation assumed dangerous proportions in Amritsar. A Sikh constable was beaten to death, the Additional District Magistrate brutally assaulted and a murderous assault was made on a Sub-Inspector of Police. Altogether 29 constables were injured. The Government communique described the situation as "exceedingly serious". Lahore District Courts were twice raided. The "raiders" ransacked every room, smashed window panes and tampered with official files. Similar things took place at other places also. But nothing of the kind was done by non-Muslims.

The same evening a communal clash took place in Lahore at Chowk Matti. This seemed to be a signal, as well as a good excuse, for the Muslims, and all West Punjab was aflame in no time. That it was all pre-planned is evident from the way large, well organised mobs of sometimes 3,000 to 4,000 strong, armed with dangerous modern weapons and led by ex-military men, attacked defenceless Hindus and Sikhs in villages and towns, perpetrating the most horrible and abominable atrocities. Minorities in Attock, Campbellpur and Rawalpindi districts were the greatest sufferers. There was no doubt killing, arson and loot on an unimaginable scale, but blood-curdling crimes were committed on women and children. Perhaps this was the moment for which the Muslim masses of North-West Punjab and the N.W.F.P. had been worked up.

Seeing all this, even British officials could not remain unmoved. Mr. J. A. Scott, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Rawalpindi Range, remarked on March 21: "I could never believe that such barbarous acts as were committed on innocent people in the rural areas of Rawalpindi district could be possible in the Punjab". And even a reactionary and diehard Imperialist like Mr. A. A. MacDonald, the Home Secretary, admitted to a Press correspondent that in Murree it appeared the widespread arson was pre-planned.

In spite of such utterances, it was a widely held belief that most of the British officers were siding with the Muslims. There were regular Flag marches and vigorous patrolling by troops in East Punjab villages and towns, thus suppressing the feelings of the Hindu and Sikh population there, while nothing of that kind took place in West Punjab. Besides, attempts were made to exacerbate West Punjab Muslims by issuing tendentious Press communiques. The "all quiet" towns of East Punjab were always mentioned in these, but on most of the occasions without any details—in fact, there used to be none.

A small riot in Kangra district, in which about 20 small mud houses were set on fire and not a child or man received injury, was given wide publicity. Ambala and Gurgaon were declared "dangerously disturbed" areas without giving reasonable grounds. On Wednesday, March 12, a Press communique stated: "A clash was averted by police intervention at Rohtak. The military have arrived in the town and will also move about in the rural areas". On Thursday, according to official sources, Rohtak was reported to be on the verge of a communal outbreak, and later the same day the situation was reported serious. The news was given wide publicity. But the Government communique issued on Friday but dated Thursday said "In Ambala Division, Rohtak district is still quiet, although tension prevails".

Imposition of martial law would have made a great difference. But it is a mystery why it was not done so. It is absolutely wrong to say that Hindus and Sikhs were opposed to it. As early as March 24 in Calcutta, Master Tara Singh, strongly criticising the Punjab Police and services in the handling of the disturbances, urged the withdrawal of the police and the posting of the military. And as late as June 21, a joint meeting of the Punjab Congress Assembly Party, the Panthic Party and the Independent legislators demanded the immediate enforcement of martial law in the disturbed areas of the Punjab.

There was, in fact, no such move from the League side, Punjab Leaguers were even opposed to the curfew, because it hindered their work of loot, arson and murder which were taking place mostly in Muslim-majority localities. On June 30, a 72-hour curfew was clamped on the Misri Shah police division in Lahore. British troops threw a barbed wire cordon round the area and in the searches carried out looted property and unlicensed arms were recovered. The Khan of Mamdot immediately ran to the Governor and threatened to resign from the two-day old provincial "Security Council" if the curfew was not amended. Accordingly, the District Magistrate relaxed the curfew restrictions with effect from 11.30 a.m. the same day.

Despite the police openly siding with Muslim hooligans and non-Muslims not being even helped by any political party, the minorities hoped to pass through this seemingly temporary upheaval. But the first shock to their confidence was the great fire in Shahalmi, Hindus stronghold in Lahore, on June 21. Of the 46 fires that day, this was the biggest, 200 houses having been gutted. Mr. M. G. Cheema, the Ilaqa Magistrate, got the fires burnt in his own presence. People were ordered not to come out of their houses to help extinguish fires. A Hindu S.D.O., who had come out on official duty, was shot dead at the orders of Mr. Cheema. This no doubt did strike terror among Hindus and Sikhs. An exodus began. But it was only a streamlet, and mostly it was from one "Mohalla" to another.

Still the minorities hoped for early return of peaceful days. This hope was strengthened by the assurances of justice and fair play given by top Leaguers like the Khan of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon and Mr. Ghazanafar Ali. Welcoming the Hindu-Sikh resolve at a convention in Rawalpindi on July 6 to remain loyal to the yet-to-be-born Pakistan Dominion, the Khan of Mamdot declared : "It is our ambition to make Pakistan an ideal democratic State in which treatment to minorities should be a model for other States to follow". The semblance of truth in these declarations was made more perfect by the assurance of Jinnah, at a Press conference in New Delhi on July 12, that the minorities would have protection with regard to their religion, faith, life, property and culture.

And this hope was further strengthened by the decision of the Central Partition Council on July 22 to set up a Special Military Command from August 1 for the disputed areas. The Council also declared: "The guarantee of protection which both Governments (India and Pakistan) give to the citizens of their respective countries implies that in no circumstances will violence be tolerated in any form in either territory. The two Governments wish to emphasize that they are united in this determination." But what more reassuring could there have been than Mr. Jinnah's following pronouncement on the eve of the formation of Pakistan : "We are starting with the fundamental principle that we are citizens and equal citizens of one State. We should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims cease to be Muslims—not in the religious sense—but in the political sense as citizens of the State."

Martial law, as people generally understood by the Central Partition Council's decision, was not put into force on August 1. A high official told a "Civil and Military Gazette" reporter that the military were not to take over charge from the civil authorities as "the situation is well under control. The police and troops in the disturbed areas have been reinforced." But the joint operation by the police and military was another mistake on the part of the authorities; it made the latter also corrupt and communal minded.

This attitude of the authorities delivered another shock to the minorities, who had grown sick of rioting. The situation in July was a little better than it was in May. But intensified "cold war" was going on between parties regarding territorial claims, which had disastrous effects in early August. League leaders were demanding the Sutlej, and even the Jamuna, as the boundary line, while the Sikhs wanted the Chenab This "scramble" was given great impetus by Mr. Arthur Henderson's statement in the House of Commons in the middle of July that "special factors" would apply to the Sikhs in the division of the Punjab and in this connection location of religious shrines would be taken into account.

The Partition Council had appealed to parties concerned on July 22: "The Boundary Commissions are already in session; if they are to discharge their duties satisfactorily, it is essential that they should not be hampered by public speeches and writings threatening boycott or direct action, or otherwise interfering with their work." The Muslim League flouted it by organising a mischievous, sustained campaign for Lahore. Everyday newspaper offices were receiving dozens of telegrams from Leaguers in villages and towns threatening dire consequences if the decision about Lahore went against them. The Muslim Press gave wide publicity to these. Seeing all that was going on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar made a prophetic announcement in his statement on July 20 in New Delhi: "The results of the Boundary Commission may be disastrous to the country."

August, therefore, dawned with a state of nervousness all round. This was precipitated by the transfer of Hindus and Sikhs in the Government employ, particularly in the police, to East Punjab. It was a great mistake; option to the civil servants should have been preceded by option to people in general and they should not have been asked "to stick to their guns" or "die with the dying Lahore." The "transfer" made Hindus and Sikhs feel protectionless.

The situation in Lahore worsened on August 11. On previous occasions "the badmashes of Amritsar," to quote Mr. J. C. W. Eustace, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, "sent glass bangles to local badmashes"; now these badmashes had migrated to Lahore. They started vying with Lahore goondas. On August 12 widespread daylight looting began in many localities in the city. On the 13th murder, arson and loot reached "a new peak." People were murdered in cold-blood by thousands and big fires burnt furiously all night, their red glow illuminating the whole city. Next morning there was a rush at the railway station. But no train was leaving for India. There was much bloodshed at the station too.

At such a critical hour a few old Congress workers (among whom Dr. Gurbux Rai's name stands pre-eminently) opened a relief camp in the D.A.V. College, Lahore. But the task of rescuing people from the hands of hostile mobs still remained unsolved; it was most difficult, even beyond the competence of the Nehru Government. And for this task the brave, selfless Dogras of Kangra of the Boundary Force came forward and rendered invaluable, never-to-be-forgotten services. They undertook great personal risk in visiting every "mohalla" and bazar—practically every nook and corner of the city—to safely evacuate the stranded people to the relief camp. Even at the Lahore Cantonment and Moghalpura railway stations, from which refugee trains left for India, one could see Dogra troops present to give protection, comfort and solace to leaving refugees. But for the Dogras, Lahore's casualty figure would have mounted very high.

All this could not move Mr. Jinnah. There was no word of sympathy or solace for the suffering minorities. He continued his Sphinx-like silence—which he had maintained during Calcutta and East Bengal rioting too—and was perturbed only when fullscale retaliation began in East Punjab. In a statement on August 25 he said : "I have watched with increasing grief and concern the orgies of violence in East Punjab, which have taken such a heavy toll of Muslim lives and inflicted indescribable tragedies on hundreds of thousands of Muslims."[1]

V

Two years have rolled by. More than five million Hindus and Sikhs have crossed over the border, leaving many behind, abducted and forcibly converted and married. Today our mental agony and depth of sorrow are, perhaps, greater and deeper than 1947's. A lakhpati has been reduced to a pauper; a mother has her daughter still in Pakistan forcibly being kept; a father is much worried to find shelter for his children against sun and rain. The Government has however given the refugees the much sought for protection. The fear of being attacked or bullied by a goonda no longer haunts their mind. 1947's nights of vigil are over and one can at least enjoy an undisturbed sleep.

SPECIAL CONVOCATION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN HONOR OF PANDIT NEHRU

Prime Minister Nehru was presented to the audience by Professor Schuyler C. Wallace during the Convocation at Columbia University on October 17, 1949, with the following remarks:*

MR. PRESIDENT, HONORED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

On behalf of the Trustees, the President, and the Faculties of Columbia University, it gives me great pleasure to greet you this evening.

During the past two hundred years, Columbia University has welcomed to its portals many distinguished guests. But no one of them has been more distinguished or more welcome than the guest we have with us tonight. I have the honor, Mr. President, to present for the degree of Doctor of Laws in Columbia University one of the world's most renowned statesmen. I do so humbly and simply.

Descended from an honorable Brahman family—originally from Kashmir, Jawaharlal Nehru was born in Allahabad on November 14, 1889. Educated initially under tutors at home, he went then to Harrow, and from there to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, then to the Inner Temple. Returning to India he at first followed in his father's footsteps and became an advocate at the Allahabad High Court where, if he had so desired, he might easily have pursued a distinguished legal career.

Instead, he chose to throw his energies into politics, becoming first a member of the All-India Congress Committee, then General Secretary, and finally President,—dedicating himself by so doing to the cause of independence for his native land. Imprisoned in 1921 and 1922, and again both in the thirties and early forties, he and his associates persevered in the pursuit of their objective until on August 15, 1947 their efforts were finally crowned with success. Together with Mahatma Gandhi, our distinguished guest exemplifies in American eyes the full flowering of the movement for Indian independence.

Pandit Nehru, however, is much more than a great revolutionary leader. The role he played in the initial negotiations with Lord Mountbatten, his conduct of the post of Vice-President under the

---

* A student of the late Professor Charles Beard, Professor Wallace has been on the Faculty of Political Science for about three decades and is now the Director of the Institute of International Affairs.

Interim Government, his course of action as Prime Minister of India, as Minister of External Affairs, and as Minister of Scientific Development, have all proclaimed him a great,—perhaps I should say the greatest—Indian statesman, fully meriting the support and adoration bestowed upon him in his native land.

But this is not all. Pandit Nehru has long since revealed himself as more than an Indian patriot and Indian statesman. More than any other single man, he was responsible for convening the First All-Asian Conference—in which all the Asiatic nations, with the single exception of Japan, participated. Beyond any other person, he stands today as the leading exponent not merely of freedom for all Asiatic nations but of freedom for all the peoples of the world.

Pandit Nehru's activities, however, have not been confined to the fields of Indian and Asiatic politics. In a very real sense he symbolizes, both in his person and in his writings, a bridge between the East and the West. In English prose of surpassing distinction he introduces into Glimpses of World History—the first of the three major volumes to flow from his pen—a perspective which constantly reminds the Occidental reader that much of what he has hitherto considered universal history is, in fact, parochial in its character. I shall not pause to comment on his literary contributions further, other than to say that his Autobiography has already taken its place in literary history as one of the classics of our time.

But Pandit Nehru is more than a great Indian patriot and statesman, he is more than a champion of the oppressed masses of Asia, more than a distinguished literary figure, scholar and philosopher. He is, in a very real sense, a world statesman. He it was who, at a Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, devised the formula whereby India could become a republic,—as she will do next January 27—and at the same time remain within the Commonwealth of Nations. He it is who, as Prime Minister and as Minister of External Affairs, has guided and guides Indian participation in the counsels of the United Nations.

Indian patriot and statesman whose energy and wisdom have not merely brought his county to the threshold of nationhood but have guided her early developments, champion of the peoples of Asia, distinguished scholar and philosopher, world statesman, on behalf of this University, this traditional seat of liberty and law, I request, sir, that you confer the degree of Doctor of Laws upon His Excellency, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

PANDIT NEHRU'S ADDRESS

The text of the address by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a Convocation held in his honour at Columbia University on the 17th October, 1949

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am deeply grateful to this great university and to you, Sir, for the honor you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. It is an honor to be associated with this university and with the many men of learning and seekers after truth of this university and I shall treasure it. To have that signal honor conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part in both war and peace adds to its value.

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as a Prime Minister of a great country or a politician, but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find the way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held. That process is always difficult but it becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion today.

Politicians have to deal with day-to-day problems and they seek immediate remedies. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day-to-day world and its problems. Neither approach appears to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine those two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's philosopher-kings? You, Sir, who have had the experience of a role of a great man of action as also that of a philosopher as head of this university, should be able to help us to answer this question.

In this world of incessant and feverish activity men have little time to think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet how are we to act even in the present unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are? It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a university that these basic problems can be adequately considered. It is only when the young men and women who are in the university today, and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of values that there is hope for the next generation.

The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two world wars are the price that had been paid for the lack of wisdom on man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price and the tragedy of it is that, even after that price was paid, we have not purchased real peace or a cessation of conflict, and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues to go the same way which led previously to disaster.

REAL OBJECTIVES FORGOTTEN

We have had wars and we have had victory and we have celebrated that victory, yet what is victory and how do we measure it? A war is fought presumably to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not by itself an objective but rather the removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If that objective is not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and indeed is no real victory. We have seen however, that the aim in wars is almost entirely to defeat the enemy and the other and real objective is often forgotten.

The result has been that the victory attained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem, or if it has solved the immediate problem, it has at the same time given rise to many other and sometimes worse problems. Therefore it becomes necessary to have the real objectives clear in our minds at all times, whether in war or in peace, and always to aim at achieving that objective.

I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, but the means are wrong, that will vitiate that end, or divert us into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That indeed has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past, but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you, not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict, and enforced leisure. The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends. We were not worthy of him and yet to the best of our ability we tried to follow his teaching. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teaching yielded rich results.

After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success, and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement, for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of it. History hardly affords a parallel to a solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way, followed by friendly and co-operative relations. It is astonishing how rapidly bitterness and ill-will between the two nations have faded away giving place to co-operation, and we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this co-operation as an independent nation.

CITES PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way. But may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful revolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world today? That revolution demonstrated to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance. Past history shows us the important part that physical force has played. But it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world, and if it attempts to do so, it does so at its peril.

Today this problem faces us in all its intensity because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate. Must the twentieth century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficacy of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction? I do believe in accordance with my master's teaching, that there is another way to meet this situation and solve the problem that faces us.

I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth. His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellow men. Nevertheless the basic truth remains truth and is always to be kept in view and so far as possible, it should guide our actions. Otherwise we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.

India is a very old country with a great past. But it is a new country also with new urges and desires. Since August, 1947, she has been in a position to pursue her foreign policy. She was limited by the realities of the situation which we could not ignore or overcome. But even so she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, howsoever imperfectly, theory to reality in so far as she could.

INDIA'S POTENTIAL RESOURCES

In the family of nations she was a newcomer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources which no doubt would increase her power and influence. A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left. Thus, India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus she has tried to combine idealism with national interest.

The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

I am asked frequently why India does not align herself with a particular nation or a group of nations, and told that because we have refrained from doing so, we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understandable because in time of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity in others as irrational, shortsighted, negative, unreal or even unmanly.

POLICY IS NOT NEGATIVE

But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and a vital policy which flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop, but is also of paramount importance to the world. How can that peace be preserved? Not by surrendering to aggression, not by compromising with evil or injustice, but also not by talking and preparing for war. Aggression has to be met, for that endangers peace. At the same time the lesson of the last two wars has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that in spite of that lesson we go the same way.

The very process of a marshalling of the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it is sought to avoid. It produces a sense of terrible fear and that fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said: "There is nothing really to fear except fear itself."

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of lessening and ultimately putting an end to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then.

We are a member of the family of nations and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership. We have accepted fully the obligations of membership of the United Nations and intend to abide by them. We wish to make our full contribution to the common store and to render our full measure of service. But that can only be done effectively in our own way and of our own choice. We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy both on the political and the economic plane, for no democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS—ECONOMIC

Our immediate needs are for economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. The more we succeed in this, the more we can serve the cause of peace in the world. We are fully aware of our weaknesses and failings and claim no superior virtue, but we do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us and we believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom.

That detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference, nor neutrality when peace or freedom is threatened. When man's liberty or peace is in danger we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality, then, will be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for.

If we seek to ensure peace, we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world?

One of the basic causes is the domination or the attempt to dominate one country by another. Large parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European powers. We ourselves were part of the British Empire, as were also Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. France, Holland, Portugal still have territories over which they rule.

But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence submerged most of the Western Empires in Asia. In Indonesia I hope that there will soon be an independent sovereign state. We hope also that French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace before long under a Government of its own choice. Much of Africa, however is subject to foreign powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of imperialism and colonialism will have to disappear.

ASKS BETTER RACIAL RELATIONS

Secondly there is the problem of racial relations. The progress of some races in knowledge or in invention, their success in war and conquest, has tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and has led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example of this was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia and Africa, racial superiority has been most widely and most insolently exhibited.

It is forgotten that nearly all the great religions of mankind arose in the East and that wonderful civilizations grew up there when Europe and America were still unknown to history. The West has too often despised the Asian and the African and still in many places denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindliness. This is one of the great danger points of our modern world; and now that Asia and Africa are shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range of consequences.

One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. The problem is not always simple nor can it be solved by a resolution or a decree, but, unless there is a firm and sincere determination to solve it, there will be no peace.

The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of persons in many countries and, in particular, in Asia and Africa. In the West, though the war has brought much misery and many difficulties, the common man generally lives in some measure of comfort—he has food, clothes, shelter to some extent.

FOOD, SHELTER—BASIC PROBLEMS

The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessaries of life. If they are lacking, then there is the apathy of despair or the destructive rage of the revolutionary. Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery—these are the evils which we have to remove if we would ensure peace. If we can offer no remedy, then other cries and slogans make an appeal to the minds of the people.

Many of the countries of Asia have entered the family of nations: others we hope will soon find a place in this circle. We have the same hopes for the countries of Africa. This process should proceed rapidly and America and Europe should use their great influence and power to facilitate it.

We see before us vast changes taking place not only in the political and economic spheres but even more so in the minds of men. Asia is becoming dynamic again and is passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses. This awakening of a giant continent is of the greatest importance to the future of mankind and requires imaginative statesmanship of a high order. The problems of this awakening will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism by any of us. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives and a common effort to realize them.

The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments that is an outstanding feature of many national budgets today, does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps even a fraction of that outlay in other ways and for other purposes, will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness.

That is India's view offered in all friendliness to all thinking men and women, to all persons of goodwill in the name of our common humanity. That view is not based on wishful thinking but on a deep consideration of the problems that afflict us all, and on its merits I venture to place it before you.

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN U. P.*

I

ITS INAUGURATION

Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D.

Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

On the 15th August (Independence Day) 1949, thirtyfive thousand Gaon Sabhas were formally inaugurated in U.P. From early in the morning a round of ceremonies was gone through in every village to lend dignity and solemnity to this inauguration of village self-government. Prabhat pheries were organised, the national flag was saluted, public meetings were held and village people—old and young, men and women—took the oath of observing all the important canons of community life.

This introduction of Gaon Sabhas is certainly a great landmark in the history of modern efforts to make democracy true and real in this old country of ours. It is, of course, a fact that village government had been provided for in most of the Indian provinces by earlier legislative enactments. In Bengal efforts had been made in this regard since 1870 in which year the Chowkidari Act (Act VI of 1870) was passed by the Provincial Legislative Council. These efforts had their culmination in the adoption of the Village Self-Government Act about fifty years later in 1919 (Act V of that year) under which the Union Boards were set up gradually in all parts of the province. While there is a good deal of resemblance between these boards which are working now in West Bengal and the system which was started in U.P. on the Independence Day, 1949, there are also some basic differences between the two in organisation, functions and outlook. They will be brought out into relief when we have discussed these factors at a later stage. But the highlights of the differences may be emphasised here at once.

---

* During a recent visit to Lucknow I had an opportunity of meeting the Director, Panchayat Raj, U.P. and his deputies. I had opportunity also of meeting some local officers and members of the public. Papers and documents were made available to me and in course of conversations I had opportunity also of getting at many other relevant facts without which it is not possible to understand the organisation which is now working. The organisation is, of course, still in an experimental stage and it will be perfected as time passes and experiences grow. So it is not yet time to make a detailed study of the Panchayat Raj. What is attempted in this and subsequent articles is an understanding of the organisational set-up. My thanks are due to the Director, Panchayat Raj, and his colleagues, for their kind and ready assistance.

The maintenance of watch and ward through chowkidars and dafadars is a main responsibility of the Union Boards in Bengal and eats up the major share of their none too large income. In U.P. villages chowkidars are maintained by the Government and are under the control of the thana officers alone. Secondly, in Bengal the Union Boards which are really boards or committees have no assembly behind them to regulate their activities and call them to account. A member of the Union Board cannot be immune from local influences after his election to the Board but legally and constitutionally he and his colleagues are not accountable to the village people during their tenure of membership. In the U.P., however, the Gaon Sabhas are the sheet-anchor of the new system of village government introduced there under the Act of 1947. The Panchayats are only the executive factor working under the control and supervision of the Sabhas which include all adult people of 21 years and above in the locality. This frank association of practically all adult people, men and women, high and low, with the administration of village affairs and that too not merely as electors of the representatives who were to run the administration but equally as direct participants in that administration has vast implications of its own. All eyes will be on the people of the U.P. as to how they react to this privilege. Thirdly, the judicial functions which have been handed over to village bodies in Bengal and the U.P. have a different organisational basis. Fourthly, while in Bengal the Union Boards, as the title would imply, were frankly to serve not one village but a union of villages, in U.P. Gaon Sabhas were intended to serve, if it was not impracticable, one village only. In practice, of course, this ideal could not be maintained and the villages had to be grouped together in U.P. as in Bengal. But while in U.P. in average three villages form one unit, in Bengal the Union covers a far larger area. As we proceed these differences will be more clearly brought out into relief in order that we in Bengal may profit, wherever it is practicable, by the experiences of the U.P. Gaon Sabhas are, of course, only six months old and it is yet too early to take a full measure of their activities and judge them properly. But we must keep our eyes on them.

The emphasis put on the Panchayat Raj now inaugurated under the Act of 1947 should not black out the fact that many of the villages in the U. P. were not without their local institutions before. In fact since 1892 such institutions have existed, though for years they did not strike much imagination and were actually in a moribund condition. After the first world war efforts were made to infuse life into the village organisations and the United Provinces Village Panchayat Act was passed in 1920 (Act VI of that year). As it has been pointed out already the object was not to create a machinery for the maintenance of the chowkidars and the organisation of watch and ward. It was intended primarily for assisting the administration of civil and criminal justice and also for effecting improvements in sanitation and other concerns of the villages. This was emphasised in the preamble to the Act.[1]

The Act empowered the District Magistrate to introduce Panchayat in a village or in a group of villages according as circumstances would dictate.[2] The area within which a Panchayat would have its jurisdiction would be known as a circle. The Panchayat was to consist of not less than 5 and not more than 7 members and they were to be appointed by the District Magistrate.[3] One of the *panches* was to be appointed by the same officer as *sarpanch* or president.[4] Just as again the District Magistrate would appoint the Panchayat, so he might remove it as well.[5] He was in fact the pivot of the whole system. The Act of 1920 was amended in 1934. But it can hardly be said that the Panchayats working under either the original or amended Act roused any enthusiasm any where. They were regarded as part of the British administrative machinery created only to bolster up the British raj. The number of such Panchayats was not, however, as small as some people might imagine them to be. In 1940-41 for instance in the district of Lucknow there were 78 such Panchayats, in Fyzabad 182, and in Banaras 275.[6] They were mainly concerned with their judicial business. The municipal affairs like sanitation were not given much attention.

Before the Act of 1920 had been worked for long, it was naturally found unsatisfactory by the representatives of the people. The rickety, anaemic scheme of 1920 was worthless in their eyes. What they wanted was a full-blooded village government based on people's will and cooperation. Accordingly in 1927 Mr. Bhagavat Narayan Bhargava,[7] then a Congress member of the U. P. Legislative Council from Jhansi, introduced a bill in that house with the purpose of overhauling the Panchayat system in the villages. The Government of the day could not for obvious reasons give support to the proposed measure. It did not in consequence go very far. Ten years later the Congress Government was in office in U. P. under the Act of 1935. It was expected to make every effort to improve the conditions of the village and broad-base their administration. Actually it appointed what was called the Local Self-Government Committee consisting of a number of experts on the subject. The report it submitted and the recommendations it made were, however, again referred to a Committee of the Legislature. Much time was consumed in this fashion and meanwhile the War broke out in Europe and the Congress Government quit office.

---

[1] "Whereas it is expedient to establish in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh village panchayats to asist in the administration of civil and criminal justice and also to effect improvements in the sanitation and other common concerns of villages . . . "

[2] Sec 4.

[3] Sections 5 and 6.

[4] Sec. 7.

[5] Sec. 8.

[6] Report on the Working of District Boards in U. P. (1940-41).

[7] Now Director of the Panchayat Raj Department, U. P.

Efforts so far made for broad-basing village government and making it effective and vital were thus of no avail. For seven years thereafter all reform was in cold storage. There could not be any talk even of reorganising village bodies. But in 1946, as a result of the provincial elections the Congress Party was returned in a majority and the Congress Government was again formed. It took time by the forelock and proceeded in the same year to draft a bill on Panchayat Raj and introduce it in the Legislature. Mrs. Pandit was then the Minister of Local Self-Government in the U. P. Cabinet and the bill was introduced by her. In drafting the bill and making it so liberal and comprehensive, Dr. K. N. Katju, the present Governor of Bengal and then a minister of the U. P. Cabinet, was also known to have a hand. The bill had many carping critics in the Legislature, particularly in the members of the Muslim League, who saw in the principle of joint electorate (which it provided for) a danger to their separatist interests. The Bill was, however, passed into an Act in 1947.[8]

It was provided that the Act would extend to all areas in the province which were outside the jurisdiction of a municipality or cantonment. In other words all rural areas[9] would have the benefit of its provisions. A Gaon Sabha would be set up "for every village or group of villages".[10] It was for the Provincial Government to "declare the name and territorial jurisdiction of the Gaon Sabha" in a notification in the official Gazette.[11] The Act also provided for the establishment of Panchayati Adalats in circles into which each district was to be divided. Each circle was to comprise a number of Gaon Sabhas. The extent of territory and the number of Gaon Sabhas to be included in a Panchayati Adalat circle were to be determined either by the Provincial Government or by the prescribed authority,[12] the prescribed authority in this case being the District Panchayat Officer.[13]

---

[8] The United Provinces Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 (Act XXVI of 1947).

[9] Sec.1 (2).

[10] Sec.3 (1).

[11] Sec.3 (2).

In order that the Panchayat Raj Act might be put into operation without delay and the Gaon Sabhas and Panchayati Adalats set up under the Act might work under proper care and sympathetic supervision, it was decided to establish a separate Directorate in the Department of Local Self-Government. This Directorate[14] was actually set up in February, 1948. When the Panchayat Raj Act was passed by the Legislature, the need of such a Directorate had not been foreseen and the Act does not provide for it and consequently is silent about its powers and functions. It is, however, expected that necessary legislation would be undertaken to confer upon the Director some specific powers. Inspite of this deficiency, however, the Directorate has become a crucial factor in the operation of the Panchayat Raj Act. It should be remembered in this connection that the Village Self-Government of 1919 was applied in Bengal gradually and by stages. It took many years for the Act to be operated in all parts of the province. It was, therefore, possible for the Government through its ordinary district machinery to chalk out the Union areas. and make arrangements for setting up Union Boards. But in U. P. a deadline was set for the Gaon Sabhas to come into full operation in all districts. It was decided that on the Independence Day of 1949 all Gaon Sabhas and Panchayati Adalats must be ready for work and all preliminaries in this regard must be completed before that date. This could not be done except on the initiative of a separate department with exclusive Panchayat Raj duties. Secondly, the experiment of direct democracy which was to be made for the first time through the Gaon Sabhas was not likely to succeed without the active co-operation and assistance of a Provincial Directorate which was to act as friend, philosopher and guide to these village bodies.

The Directorate took its duties very seriously and did not allow grass to grow under its feet. First, there was the problem to delimit the areas of the different Gaon Sabhas. Altogether there are 1,14, 215 villages in U.P. Many of them were, however, too small both in size and population. Grouping on one basis or another had consequently to be resorted to. But before that could be done, a population census had to be taken. This duty was performed by the Patwaries who occupy in U.P. the lowest rung of the hierarchy of revenue officials. They compiled in two parts the census figures. In the first part were included the names, age, occupation, etc., of all persons in a village and in the second were included only the names, age, etc., of those adults who would be members of the Gaon Sabhas. As, district by district, the population census was completed, the Directorate undertook the formation of the Gaon Sabhas. It was decided that the first principle to be observed in this regard was that no village which had less than 1,000 residents would by itself become a Gaon Sabha. The second principle adopted was that in grouping smaller villages or tacking them on to larger ones it should be insisted that one part of the Gaon Sabha was not more than three miles from the other part. The unit was in other words to be as small and compact as administrative convenience would allow.

---

[12] Sec. 42.

[13] Order No. 4913—PRD—22—48.

[14] The Director and one of his deputies have been chosen from outside the official hierarchy. The other Deputy, however, has been recruited from among experienced members of the Provincial Civil Service.

It was, of course, not an easy task to organise Gaon Sabhas on the basis of these principles, simple though they might appear to be. It might seem very natural that a small village in the neighbourhood of a large one should be tacked on to the latter. But some kind of rivalry not unoften existed between them and one petitioned against the joining of the two. Differences such as these had to be composed before any final decision was taken. Inspite of these difficulties the work proceeded apace and from the 21st August, 1948 to the 27th November of the same year, notifications were issued in the Gazette regarding the names and areas of Goan Sabhas formed in different districts. Some instances may be given here. The notifications regarding these Gaon Sabhas of Jalan were issued on the 21st August 1948, those of Jhansi on the 28th August, 1948, those of Allahabad on 11th September, 1948 and those of Banaras on 27th November, 1948. While the total number of villages was, as stated already, 1,14,215, the total number of Gaon Sabhas formed was 34,755✓ In average a Gaon Sabha thus came to consist of about three villages and about 1550 people. The lowest population in a Gaon Sabha is, as it has been emphasised already, 1,000. Though there is no maximum limit, actually it does not exceed 10,000. Very few Gaon Sabhas have so large a number of people to look after. As for the Panchayati Adalats, the principle was adopted that its jurisdiction would extend over three to five Gaon Sabhas and along with the formation of the latter the areas of these Adalats were also demarcated on that basis. Provision was actually made for 8,190 Adalats.

Without going at this place into details of the organisation of the Gaon Sabhas and the Panchayati Adalats, I think it necessary here to point out that every Gaon Sabha has a President and a Vice-President and an executive committee called Gaon Panchayat. The Gaon Sabha consists of all adults of at least 21 years of age and it is to elect its President, Vice-President and members of the Gaon Panchayat. It is also to elect five members to the Panchayati Adalat within whose jurisdiction it is located. Now once the areas of the different Sabhas and Panchayati Adalats were demarcated, it was the duty of the Panchayat Raj Directorate to make arrangements for these elections. This was also a very heavy responsibility. Most of the village adults who were to participate in the elections were illiterate. The old inertia of the masses which existed in this country before the First World War and which made most observers very pessimistic about the advance of democracy here had, of course, been considerably removed both by the impact of the two great wars and by the mass political movements which Gandhiji had led. People were now in consequence more alert and more assertive. They were no longer as ignorant as they had been before. But all the same they were illiterate and had all the handicaps which are concomitants of illiteracy.

In consequence of these handicaps special efforts had to be made to bring home to the village people their rights and duties in regard to the elections to be held and the powers and functions which they would exercise as members of Gaon Sabhas and Gaon Panchayats. To this end five small and simple pamphlets were written in Hindi by the Director and distributed on mass scale in different districts. The help of the All-India Radio was also requisitioned in this regard and in several broadcasts people who could be reached by them were given proper ideas and information regarding the Gaon Sabhas. Lastly early in January 1949, in each tahsil conferences of village people were held and they were addressed by prominent officials and non-officials. These conferences were in fact made the forum of people's education regarding the new village democracy to be soon introduced. Thereafter the dates of election were fixed by the District Magistrate in each village. Meanwhile the register of population census which had been compiled in two parts was exhibited for inspection by the people. By drum-beating they were informed of the place and hours of such inspection. In case any name was left out, the notice of the person authorised in this regard was to be drawn and correction was to be accordingly made. There was some difficulty about the choice of returning officers. Originally it was contemplated that school teachers would be given a portion of the responsibility in this connection. But during these months they were on strike and some felt that elections might have to be postponed. The Directorate, however, decided to obviate this difficulty by choosing the clerks and assistants of the district collectorates as returning and polling officers.

All arrangements were thus made for twenty.seven million voters, who were all of them members of one or another Gaon Sabha, to elect their Presidents, Vice-Presidents, members of the Panchayats and members of the Panchayati Adalats. It stands to the credit of the administration that the elections were held without any hitch. In the plains they were held in February, 1949 and in the hill areas in following June. With the holding of these elections the major task was completed. But there were other gaps to be filled before the Panchyat Raj could be set going. The supervising machinery had to be created. To this end in every district a Deputy Collector was posted as Panchayat Raj Officer and under him were to work the Inspectors. Five hundred of them were appointed and trained. Details in this regard will be out of place here. They will be discussed at a later stage. Along with the appointment and training of the Inspectors the Sarpanches (Presidents of Panchayati Adalats) * and Secretaries were also given a course of training. Then on the first of August, that is fifteen days before the date of inauguration, the Presidents of Gaon Sabhas, Sarpanches and Secretaries were called upon to begin their work so that on the day of inauguration they might set the ball rolling without any difficulty. These institutions were coming into being for the first time. Consequently arrangements had also to be made for financing their activities during the preliminary stages. Later they would frame their budgets, raise their money and settle their sccounts. But now at the initial stage the Government had to come forward to help them and to this end a total grant of 52 lakhs and 50 thousand was made. In average each Gaon Sabha received Rs. 150. Besides, the Government also made a grant of twenty-four lakhs for payment of the first six months' salary to the Secretaries, one of whom was to serve all the Gaon Sabhas and the Adalat in a circle.

---

* The Sarpanch is elected from among themselves by all the Panches constituting the Panchayati Adalat. Section 44.

So, as it has been stated already, the Panchayat Raj came into operation in U.P. on the last Independence day. The Government of that Province and the leaders of public opinion there regarded this inauguration of the Panchayats at least as part fulfilment of the Congress pledge to transfer power to the masses. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, in course of an address to the panches of a village, happened to observe : " Freedom of the country having been won, we are now trying to bring about conditions similar to those which existed in our country in ancient times." Pandit Pant had evidently in his mind the powers wielded and the functions discharged by the ancient village communities in this country. It will be our duty to analyse the organisation of the village bodies now set up by Pandit Pant's Government and the powers and functions which have been vested in them. It will be our duty also to make reference to the kind of men who will run these organisations. An institution advances or recedes not merely because it is well or ill constituted but also because it is manned by well-or ill-intentioned men. This preliminary article, however, is not to be concluded save with the hope that the Premier's dream of the present day Gaon Sabhas turning out to be the prototypes of villages communities of bygone days may come true.

Round the World

Endowment for White Supremacy

While the United Nations Week was being observed in different parts of the world and ideas about the dignity of man and peace and amity among nations were being preached with conviction and fervour in speeches in public meetings and in statements of prominent individuals and public functionaries, the news arrived through the courtesy of P.T.I.—Reuter that a rich American citizen, George Armstrong by name, had offered a a donation of fifty million dollars to Jefferson Military College on some specific conditions. The most important of them were that it was to exclude all persons of Asian and African origin both as students and as members of the staff and to inculcate in its students the ideas of White supremacy. The trustees of the College have, however, refused to accept the donation on these conditions. In this refusal they have risen equal to the traditions set by Jefferson whose name their College bears. Jefferson had not only drafted the Declaration of Independence but evolved a philosophy of life of which equality and liberty were the chief factors. We congratulate the trustees on keeping their standard high. But the millionaire whose imagination has been warped by racial arrogance approached another institution with his filthy lucre and offered the same donation to it on some similar conditions. There also, it is good to learn, he has been rebuffed. But a man who can hold out such temptations before public institutions, all of which are not sufficiently rich and well off and some of which may fall an easy prey to such seduction, should be declared a public enemy. In many of the areas of the United States the gulf between the Whites and the Negroes remains yet unbridged. The latter have to suffer from all kinds of segregation laws. They are shut out from well endowed and richly maintained White educational institutions and have to attend only the understaffed and ill-equipped institutions which are meant for them alone. Even in the North where racial segregation is not so blatantly tolerated, there are restrictions from which the Negroes happen to suffer. There are educational institutions again which the Jews can attend only in a restricted number. There is no written law in this regard. But there is the silent convention that only a certain small percentage of the student body might be of the semitic race. In a country which is so overburdened with racialism and where the best minds are busy with evolving methods of eradicating this virus, it should be regarded as a positive crime that a multimillionaire should be allowed to hold out such temptations as were actually dangled by George Armstrong before the Jeflerson Military College.

French Cabinet Government

At the time of writing the period of interregnum in France is just over. After the resignation of the Queille Ministry France presented to the dismayed world the unenviable spectacle of a country without an accredited Government. One man after another was chosen and commissioned by the President to form the Ministry. But the choice proved infructuous. Before any of them could proceed to choose his colleagues, under the new Constitution he had to approach the Assembly for the ratification of his choice as Premier. He might receive the vote of confidence but only by a very narrow majority. That was an indication that he would not advance very far. Actually during the period of four weeks one man after another, commissioned to form the Government, had to abandon the task in one stage or another. At last when the situation became intolerable, the former foreign Minister, M. Bidault, was approached by the President and entrusted with the task of forming the Government. It is good to know that he has at last succeeded.

Before the last World War such political crisis was almost as frequent in France as it is now. In this regard the fire through which France has passed has made no difference. But while in this particular the French people were very complacent before the War, they should not be so any longer. Years before we were told that a Ministerial crisis really did not affect much the administration of the country. The real government was carried on only by civil servants who were efficient and strong and it did not consequently matter much as to who was the political head of their department or as to whether he existed or not. But it has been proved beyond doubt that this attitude proved the undoing of France. Political leadership is not an idle factor of government and the Cabinet above the Departments is not a mere show. Without the helm in its hands the ship of state may proceed on smooth waters for a while but when in rough weather it goes down.

Pandit Nehru in U.S.A. and Canada

At the time of writing Pandit Nehru has not completed his American tour but has already disposed of the large portion of the crowded programme chalked out for him by American and Canadian State Departments. Of the many places he has visited the most important is certainly Mount Vernon, George Washington's Virginia home. Situated on the Potomac it not only contains the tomb of the greatest man that America has produced but also his house which has been preserved as it was at the time of his death one hundred and fifty years ago. It is very difficult to say as to which was the most important landmark in the career of Washington—his command in chief of the American forces during the War of Independence, his presidentship of the Federal Convention at

Philadelphia in 1787 which fashioned the American Constitution as we know it or his two-term Presidency during the nursery period of the American Union. Each was the most crucial responsibility at the time it was undertaken. It is always an idle speculation whether any body else would have been as equal to the task as he was. But that the choice fell on him on every occasion would show that he inspired the greatest confidence. We do not know what memories were awakened in the mind of Pandit Nehru when he placed the wreath on Washington's tomb. He is not only an accomplished student of history but what is more important has historical imagination. Certainly all the important facts of Washington's career welled up in his memory as he looked at the rooms which neither weather nor age nor the rough hands of man have defaced.

The other important place which he visited and which honoured him by conferring upon him an honorary degree is the Columbia University. Its nucleus, the Columbia College, had been established when New York was still a British Colony. During the two hundred years since then it has grown from strength to strength. Although it is difficult to assess the comparative qualities of different universities (and it is sometimes invidious as well), the endowments it has received, the resources it possesses, the opportunities which it offers to students of different faculties and the quality of teaching and research in this institution amply testify that it is today second to none of the great seats of learning in the United States. Nicholas Murray Butler presided over it for more than a third of a century. His place has been taken now by Mr. Eisenhower, who had led the combined allied forces in the Western front against Germany in the second World War. His appointment may sound strange in British ears and in the ears of those who believe in British academic traditions. But in the U.S.A. in choosing a President, they do not necessarily consult the age or the previous occupation of the possible candidates. They consult more the mind.

The other Universities which Pandit Nehru has visited or will visit include not only the most ancient and famous—Harvard—but also a very recent foundation namely the University of Chicago and the most picturesque seat of learning namely the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Founded more than three hundred years ago, Harvard has had traditions of its own. The University of Chicago, though of recent origin, has built up resources which would awe any but an American. There is no gainsaying the fact that it is now one of the most well organised of higher educational centres in the U.S.A. The city of Madison which is the capital of the State of Wisconsin and which accommodates the Wisconsin University is a small town by American standard. Situated, however, on the Lakes, it has a beauty of its own. The University not only shares this beauty but has also developed a character which few other Universities do possess. Its resources and fame may not approach those of Harvard, Yale and Columbia. But it has a distinctive flavour and quality of its own. Its poetic environments make life pleasant and in a quiet, unostentatious way it maintains a standard which few other institutions may hope to surpass. It was good that Pandit Nehru has picked up direct acquaintance with different types of Universities in America. His impressions in this regard will not only help him in evolving the policy of his Government towards the Indian Universities but they must have helped him also in understanding America. The Universities there occupy an ampler place in the social life and public life of the country than anywhere else. Without feeling the atmosphere of these higher centres of learning one may not have proper acquaintance with the character of the people and the country.

Pandit Nehru did not reside in the White House while he was in Washington. This palace which houses the President of the U.S.A. was under repairs at the time. When the American states entered into a federation, it was decided to build a capital in an area which would not be within the jurisdiction of any particular component state. Accordingly the District of Columbia was acquired on the river Potomac and the building up of the capital city was undertaken. But it was not before a number of years had passed by that it became ready for the President and the legislators to occupy. Meanwhile New York City and Philadelphia served as temporary capitals. Washington, when elected President, had journeyed to the former city on horse back for inauguration. The trip was an ovation all the way and took days to complete. Later the capital was shifted to Philadelphia and then finally to Washington. The third President, Jefferson, was the first to be inaugurated in this new capital city, appropriately named after Washington. That was in 1801. When war broke out again with Britain in 1812, the enemy managed to march triumphantly into Washington. A dinner prepared at White House for President Madison and his wife were eaten by British Officers. They also set fire to all public buildings and the White House also did not escape. During the Civil War too the capital was threatened. But since then it has been allowed to grow unmolested. London, Paris, Berlin and Moscow have passed through ordeals but Washington has had only quiet and peaceful progress. It is not a big city but is clean, bright and sunny. It represents cheerful and optimistic America.

Pandit Nehru has delivered numerous addresses, those at the joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives and at the University of Columbia, being long set speeches. The Americans are a talkative people and most of them have a gift of the gab. Pandit Nehru also is not the proverbial silent strong man. He loves to talk and that at length. In the world of filiblustering his speeches, many of them long, must have been welcome. But while in this matter the Americans met in him their like, we do not know if in another respect he could have given them sufficient satisfaction. The Americans are a new nation and have not the modesty of old civilizations. Frankly they like to be flattered—flattered for the great things they have achieved in their country. They are not in a mood to receive advice or admonition. The American way of life is the best in their opinion. Any visitor, however distinguished, who does not sing in tune with them and strikes a discordant note falls from favour. That was why Rabindranath could not make himself as popular in the U.S.A. as he was in many European countries. Pandit Nehru has been very discreet in his references to American achievements and American civilization. But his emphasis on the Gandhian way and his indirect disapproval of American policy in some particulars might have withdrawn from him the interest of some. His insistence also on India remaining aloof from either party to the cold war now going on between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. might have damped the enthusiasm of many. But what else could the Prime Minister do? He had not gone there to flatter any people. He had gone there to understand a people and make it understand India and her point of view. We believe in this task he has eminently succeeded.

India's Republican Constitution

Before this paragraph is in print it is likely that the Constituent Assembly will finally adopt the new republican constitution of India, which is scheduled to come into operation on the 26th of January next. One of the important features of this constitution will be the uniformity of the powers and functions of the different federal units of the Union. The Act of 1935 had foreshadowed a special position of the Indian states in the Indian Federation. When the Constituent Assembly met for the first time in 1946 there were few people who could think of a considerable departure from that principle. They would have been happy if the states only consented to enter the federation. They would not have higgled much over the terms. Even at the time of the transfer of power in 1947 there was not much optimism over the position of the states. In the course of the last two years, however, the map of India has been changed almost beyond recognition. The Orissa and C.P. states have lost their identity and become merged in their respective provinces. The two states in U.P. have similarly been merged. Not to speak of these small states some of the larger and more famous ones have in the same fashion gone with the wind. Baroda for instance which at one time was regarded as a model state has become part and parcel of the Bombay province. Travancore and Cochin survive but only as the United States of Travancore and Cochin. Similar is the case with the states of Kathiwar, Rajputana, Central India and Vindhya Pradesh. Of more than 562 states only three still survive as such, *e.g.*, Mysore, Hyderabad and Kashmir. The two latter are in an anomalous situation. Hyderabad's position will be decided in the course of the next few months and Kashmir has acceded to India only in respect of External Affairs, Defence and Communications.

But as for the other states and unions of states, their position in the bosom of India will be the same as that of the provinces, except for this that while the provinces will have a Governor at their head, these states or unions of states will have a Rajpramukh for the same purpose. This uniformity in the status of the different units will simplify to a great extent the administration of the country and cause less headaches to the Central Government. Three lists of power which the Constitution will embody—one for the Centre, one for the units, and one for concurrent jurisdiction—will by themselves sufficiently complicate it and keep epen the floodgates of litigation. Differential powers for different units would have added further to these complications. It is only in special circumstances that Kashmir has been allowed to retain greater authority and wider jurisdiction than the other units. But it is expected that with the change in these circumstances this state also will be reduced to the same position as the provinces.

Centrally Administered States and their Future

There are several states whose administration has been taken over by the Centre, *e.g.*, Tripura and Cooch-Behar in Bengal, Bhopal in Central India. Hyderabad also falls into that category. Some areas in the Assam frontier and a state in Kathiwar are also being administered either by the agents of the Central Government or subject to its control. It is not yet clear as to what they will be like in the future. As for Hyderabad there is an opinion that its three linguistic parts should be absorbed in the neighbouring provinces. It is, however, apprehended that this violent break with traditions in respect of so large an area and so large a population might lead to some administrative confusion. It will be too dear a price for linguistic cohesion. As for Bhopal, its people were divided as to their relations with their neighbours. So the Central Government cut the Gordian Knot by taking it over into its own hands. It is not really a viable area to be administered as a separate province. So it seems that in the future it too will be merged in one or another of the neighbouring units. Tripura has been taken over by the Central Government on the ground that though inhabited by Bengali people it is cut off from West Bengal. But possibly this objection to its merger with West Bengal will not be long maintained. If Tripura is cut off from West Bengal, so are Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and West Dinajpur. If the latter may be satisfactorily administered from Calcutta, Tripura also may be so. As for Cooch-Behar, we are told that while the people are Bengali speaking or overwhelmingly so, their social traditions are those of the tribal peoples in Assam. On this ground this state has not been allowed to be merged in West Bengal. The objection is flimsy and we hope it will be officially regarded as such in the near future.

India's Election to Security Council

India's election to the Security Council which was announced some time ago is an important landmark in the evolution of the political status of this country. India had been an original member of the League of Nations and remained associated with it till the last. But on no occasion she could secure a seat in its Council. In fact India's position as a member of the League was anomalous. She was not then a sovereign state but only because she had attended the Peace Conference at Paris and was a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles she had to be included in the League membership. At the time U.N.O. was set up, technically India occupied the same position. But two years later in 1947 Indian independence was an accomplished fact. Consequently there was no bar, —technical, political or sentimental—to her selection to the Security Council.

This Council is the most important factor of the United Nations Organisation. Exclusion from it means exclusion from the main theatre of United Nations activity. Under Article 23 of the Charter the Security Council consists of eleven members, five of whom occupy permanent seats. They are China, France, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and U.K. The remaining six members are to be elected by the General Assembly for a period of two years. In electing these non-permanent members the General Assembly is enjoined by the Charter to pay due regard to the contribution of the member states to the maintenance of international peace and security. and to equitable geographical distribution. Both these conditions are amply fulfilled by India. No country has been possibly more zealous in maintaining international peace than India. No country has been more punctilious in respecting the form and spirit of the charter in the solution of its disputes with other countries. As for geographical distribution, the vast and farflung region of Asia in which India is located has only one member, namely China and she too is in a distracted state. It was necessary that India also should have a place, otherwise there would have been only geographical mal-distribution in filling seats on the Security, Council, which the Charter was intended to avoid. It should, however, be remembered that the two conditions prescribed in the Charter have not been during the last four years observed in the spirit in which they were conceived. A political consideration now colours the fulfilment of these conditions. It is for instance now a convention that Latin America must have two members on the Security Council, though one would have been enough. Eastern Europe must similarly have one, though geographically it may not be warranted ; U.S.S.R was there. Lastly from the Commonwealth Group, one only must be chosen. India being a member of the Commonwealth, she cannot be chosen if Canada or Australia or South Africa is also chosen.

Next two years are crucial years in the history of the United Nations. They will decide whether this institution will grow from strength to strength or go the way of its predecessor and ultimately die of indifference and neglect. It is good that during this period India will be actively associated with the pivotal factor of its organisation. Somebody has suggested that the great skyscrapper which is now being reared in New York to house the United Nations Organisation is an evil omen that the organisation may collapse and the building may have to be utilised for other purposes. Let us not take this observation seriously. We have never, of course, liked the idea that the U.N.O.'s headquarters should be located in the American continent. Geneva had magnificently housed the League and its successor also should have remained there. But there were objections to Geneva from the Russian quarters. The United States to which the political centre of gravity had shifted during second World War thus found the opportunity of insisting on having the international headquarters on its own soil. But although it would have been convenient for Indians and others if the U.N.O. headquarters were in Europe instead of across the Atlantic, this location has nothing to do with the utility of the Organisation. Pandit Nehru has emphasised that the hope of salvation is now bound up with the progress of the U.N.O. If this progress is stopped and if the U.N.O. goes the way of the League, mankind will be face to face with the atom bomb. So let us beware.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Communist Violence in India issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

While the statement made by the Prime Minister of India in Parliament towards the end of February, 1949, gives the reasons for the policy followed towards the Communist Party of India, it very obviously could not deal with the evidence then in possession of Government in regard to the aims and objects for the attainment of which the party is prepared to go to any lengths from promoting strikes and sabotage to cold-blooded murder. This proof is supplied, and that right well, in the pamphlet under review issued last month by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

After documentary evidence showing that the Communist Party of India has been preaching violence on an All-India scale, a large amount of space is devoted to quotations from literature, posters, etc., advocating its use in the two danger spots in our motherland, *viz.*, West Bengal and Hyderabad, where its activities seem to have been concentrated for some time past. In all cases, the language used is most violent and no secret is made of the fact that the aim is to bring in chaos and destruction by exploiting economic discontent in the former and the disturbed conditions prevalent in the latter.

The results of this preaching of violence and the leadership supplied in subversive activities are next made clear by reference to a few cases of murders, dacoities, arson, sabotage, strikes, etc., mainly in the two areas referred to above. Some account is also given of the number of lives lost and the value of the property destroyed or looted. Care has been taken to show how the public at large has at last come to realize the dangerous implications of these activities and have taken to helping the authorities to meet the communist menace. Praiseworthy restraint has been shown in selecting the material, probably because it has been felt that under—rather than over-statement will carry more conviction to the reader. Readers who would like to know more about this are supplied with a useful appendix which gives an account of various acts of violence in chronological order.

The position of Government is made clear in the final chapter where it is conclusively proved that no Government worth the name can, consistently with its duty towards the people, allow these activities to go on and that it is the merest folly to hold the view that what the Congress

Government has done in the past or may have to do in the future, will be due to its desire to remain in power by oppressing and suppressing a dangerous political rival.

It is a successful attempt to explain the policy of the Government and a convincing piece of writing which should remove such prejudices as may be entertained against the administration through ignorance of the true facts.

H. C. MUKHERJEE

Vocational Training of Adults in the United Kingdom (International Labour Office, 1948):—

In March, 1948 the International Labour Office undertook the preparation of a series of monographs on vocational training and retraining in different countries. The present work is the first of the series and deals with the efforts of the Government in the United Kingdom to ensure an adequate supply of skilled labour for essential industries. The book may be divided into three parts, the first of which covers the inter-war period, the second the period between 1939 and 1945, while the third part dwells on post-war developments. Vocational training schemes operated by Government originated in Britain after the first World War primarily to rehabilitate demobilised soldiers. By 1927, however, unemployment had become a continuing problem and the Ministry of Labour had to organise training for the unemployed. Eligibility for vocational training was confined to male adults from the depressed areas, while choice of courses was limited by the technical possibilities of giving satisfactory training in the centre at a reasonable cost as well as by the employment prospects for those trained. Voluntary organisations also conducted certain schemes with the financial assistance of the State. There were, besides, a few home-training centres to impart domestic service training to women. On the outbreak of war, all training facilities not of direct assistance to the war effort were discontinued, age limits for trainees were relaxed, and women and girls were also admitted. In keeping with the needs of the moment, training courses were shortened. With the cessation of hostilities, vocational training schemes were once again modified to provide export industries, building industry and consumer goods industries with an army of well-trained technicians. Facilities for such training, are, at present, open only to "able-bodied persons who, on account of war conditions, had no opportunity to commence, or suffered interruptions in, their career, and to any disabled persons in need of such training." Vocational training in the U.K. is, therefore, not merely an integral part of the resettlement programme but also a vital measure calculated to assist the smooth conversion from war-time to peacetime economy.

There are certain remarkable aspects of vocational training schemes in the U.K. Instruction at Government centres is given under circumstances closely resembling conditions in an industrial establishment while training facilities in a trade are, as far as practicable, related to the absorptive capacity of the industry concerned. There is naturally close co-operation between Government training centres on the one hand, and employment exchange machinery, on the other, in order that trainees may not, on completing their courses, find themselves stranded. Where training takes place at the instance of the Government in an employer's establishment, the trainee's services are usually retained by the employer. In other cases, responsibility for the placing of trainees, after training in Government training centres and technical and commercial colleges, rests with the Government. Until 1940, men attending training courses were eligible for unemployment benefits, but now trainees are entitled to standard maintenance allowances, medical aid and certain welfare facilities. It must, however, be pointed out that the training of workers of skilled trades in the U.K. has normally been a responsibility of the industry. It is only in times of unusual variations of demand and supply that Government had a helping hand. Thus during the last war, employers in certain industries received from the State financial grants for the training of each worker in excess of their normal requirements. The usefulness of British vocational training schemes may be realised from the fact that between July 1945 and March 1948 as many as 67000 men and women were trained and passed to industry.

The book under review is unquestionably an interesting and useful publication, and its appearance at a moment when large development projects are under way in this country, only adds to its importance. The Scientific Manpower Committee of the Government of India places India's requirements in scientific and technical manpower in the next 5-10 years at nearly 50,000 while the shortage of technical personnel in the principal industries is estimated to range from 20% to 90%. Vocational training in this country, on a big scale, is an imperative necessity, and the example of Britain can be emulated here with profit. The flexibility of British training schemes should be a lesson to all governments having ambitious construction or reconstruction programmes in hand. In one respect, however, the monograph is incomplete. Full statistics of governmental expenditure on vocational training in the U.K. would have enhanced the usefulness of the book. Evidently, however, praiseworthy Britain's efforts might be from a wider p rspective, it would be rash to overlook the limited paying capacity of poorer countries like India.

Manju Bhusan Dutta

To High Kailàs—By Will Quinlan, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, Re. 1-12-0.

A Dak Bungalow at the foot hills of the Himalayas is an ideal place in which to relax. Two parties of strangers, one consisting of Englishme and the other of Indians meet and exchange their experiences. The stories are true to life-stagnation in the curricula of an Indian University, corruption in a Government office, poverty in a village, disillusionment in politics, and consolation in religion. All share the same feeling—that the mountains give mental relaxation. The songster quotes "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help".

This little book is written in a simple straight-forward manner; though the plot is thin. It provides a companion for a railway journey.

Y. MATHIAS

1. **Employment, Unemployment and Labour force statistics**—a study of methods.

2. **Cost of Living Statistics.**

3. **Methods of Statistics of Industrial Injuries**—(Publications of the International Labour Office).

These Reports, prepared for the sixth International Conference of Labour Statisticians, provide sound basic guidance for the improvement and standardisation of economic statistics. Methods to be employed and definitions to be adopted for purposes of compiling statistics have been suggested, and in some cases directions of further fruitful research have been indicated. The resolutions passed at the conference of Labour statisticians are likely to assist the formulation of practical policies designed to meet labour problems by strengthening the statistical bases of such policies.

AMLAN DATTA

The Chilean Development Corporation—By Herman Finer (published by the International Labour Office).

The study of the working of the Chilean Development Corporation should prove interesting to all those who are eager to gather knowledge about ways and means of planned economic development in backward countries. It is important to note that while the Corporation is in charge of promoting carefully conceived "plans" of development, it operates mainly within and through the framework of private enterprise. It remains to be seen how far the Corporation can work effectively within this framework. The main difficulties which the Corporation has to meet with at this moment seems, however, not to be directly connected with private enterprise. Though the scope of the Corporation's obligations is extremely wide, its funds are relatively small, and the sources from which these funds are derived give rise to problems calling for solution. The working of the Corporation repays study not less because of the problems that it had posed but because of the achievements that it has recorded.

AMLAN DATTA

Ourselves

THE PREMIER MEETS THE PRINCIPALS OF COLLEGES

On the 12th of the last month the Premier met the Principals of Colleges in Calcutta and the suburbs. The Vice-Chancellor and the Education Minister were present during the meeting. One of the subjects discussed was the overcrowding in the Calcutta colleges, some of which have seven to eight thousand students on their rolls. It is difficult, if not impossible, to supervise properly the activities of such a vast number of students in one institution and maintain discipline among them. When again classes are far too large and hours of work for teachers are far too many, it is but inevitable that the quality of work would deteriorate. In fact it is being admitted that as a result of the accumulation of a vast body of students in institutions which were originally meant for less than one-fourth of this strength, quality of teaching has to some extent suffered. Pressure on laboratories has become too great and practical work for science students is no longer on former level. Lecturers who have to work in different shifts are losing in health and efficiency. Personal contact between teachers and students was never very intimate in most colleges in Calcutta. It has become far less so in recent years. This has told adversely on the morale and discipline of the student body.

While again Calcutta colleges have become too overcrowded, many mufassil colleges, particularly those in the villages and sub-divisional headquarters, have had far too small a number of students on their rolls. This has told adversely on their financial position and made them unable to maintain requisite staff in many instances. This latter fact again has helped in discouraging many students to seek admission there. So there is what may be called apoplexy at the centre and anaemia at the circumference. While there are seven thousand and more in a Calcutta college, there is but one hundred and sixty-five in Katwa College which is not very far away. This is a case of maldistribution which has to be remedied.

The authorities of the Calcutta Colleges cannot, of course, be very much blamed for swelling their roll strength. They have never been financially well off. Some had suffered terribly in lean years.

Students' fees have been their only source of income. Naturally when in post-war years students sought admission in an ever increasing number, they dared not refuse. They thought that this boom might not last long and it might be followed again by slump. It was, therefore, wise to make hay while the sun shone. This was the opportunity to make good their deficit. There was again the problem of refugee students (and not all from East Bengal) who came to Calcutta for further education. It would have been difficult in 1947 when partition was effected and in 1948 when inter-dominion relations were still unsatisfactory to turn back these students. Somehow they had to be accommodated. Gradually, however, the situation is becoming normal. The emergency in this regard appears to be over. It is consequently time to think of permanent arrangements. The maximum roll strength of a college and the number of shifts of work should now be fixed. Arrangements for surplus students in the mufassil colleges should be improved. In this connection the Premier has given the assurance to the Principals that the Government would give reasonable assistance to those colleges whose roll strength will be depleted as a result of this redistribution of students and whose financial condition will suffer on this score.

* * *

H. E. THE CHANCELLOR'S LETTER REGARDING STEPS TO BE TAKEN FOR IMPROVING UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION, READ AT THE MEETING OF THE SENATE ON THE 29TH OCTOBER.

Since the last meeting of the Senate there have been many developments which have brought the Calcutta University and its affairs into an unenviable public discussion. What has happened has, I greatly regret, not redounded to the credit of this premier University of India which all Indians during the last hundred years, whether natives of Bengal or of other provinces, have learnt to revere and hold in deep affection.

A committee appointed by the Syudicate has already investigated into some of the allegations made, and that report, having been adopted by the Syndicate, has now become public property. Further the Syndicate was of opinion, and has resolved, that another committee should be appointed by me in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor for further investigation into other matters and branches of University administration. This I propose to do in a few days, and I shall see to it that the committee consists of members who would command universal respect and confidence by their past record of public service and integrity and high character.

It is of the utmost importance that the University administration should be purified. All those, whether connected with the University or with any of the colleges in any capacity, who by their improper conduct have shown that they cannot be expected to win the love and respect of their pupils should be eliminated. One of the outstanding features of our present-day University life in Calcutta which has caused great detriment to the cause of education and to the youth of the province is the glaring absence of contacts between the teachers and their pupils. While we must impress upon all students the great merit of discipline and the virtue of intimate and inspiring relations between them and their teachers, we must at the same time see to it that the teachers are worthy of reverence, that not only are they honourable, but are persons whose honour and integrity and nobility of character are above suspicion. Unless we restore the intimate touch between the teachers and the students we shall not be able to remove many of the existing defects in the present state of affairs.

I trust that this Committee, after giving the most ample opportunity of defending themselves to all concerned, will be able to report at a very early date so that this unhappy chapter in the history of this University may soon be closed for ever. I trust also that while the public will extend their utmost co-operation to this committee, general discussions and accusations in the public press will now cease so that the committee may be able to carry on its work in a free and unprejudiced atmosphere.

Radhakrishnan University Commission has submitted its report to the Government of India and I suppose very soon that report will be published. I would earnestly draw the attention of the members of the Senate to the urgent necessity of a very careful study of that report and its recommendations. The Calcutta University is at present functioning under a wholly outmoded Act of 1904. It is imperative that in the new set-up of a free India, and after a careful study and consideration of the recommendations of that Commission, the Syndicate and the Senate should formulate recommendations for the reorganisation of University education in this province. Calcutta University is famous throughout the world for its post-graduate classes. Conditions under which work is carried on leave much to be desired. The congestion not only in the post-graduate classes but in all our colleges is very great. Something must be done to remedy the existing state of affairs. I would earnestly request the members of the Senate to take requisite steps by appointment of committee or committees or otherwise for a close study of the whole problem so that appropriate action may be taken by the University itself or where necessary it may make suitable recommendations to the Provincial Government for necessary legislative action.

Material for consideration will be available in the shape of memoranda and oral evidence taken by the Radhakrishnan University Commission and I hope that the material will be fully utilised so that unnecessary delay may be avoided. I need not emphasise the urgency of the problem.

* * *

THE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

An Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Chancellor in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor and in that connection the following statement was issued :

As desired by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University the Vice-Chancellor conveyed to H.E. the Chancellor their request to him to constitute a committee or committees to investigate the recent allegations of abuses and mal-practices in certain branches of University administration. His Excellency has been pleased to accede to the request, and, in consultation with the Vice-Chancellor, has appointed a committee consisting of the following :—

Sri B. L. Mitter (Chairman) ; Sri S. M. Bose, Advocate-General, West Bengal ; Dr. Biman Behari Dey, retired Director of Public Instruction, Madras ; Sri S N. Dutt, Bar-at-Law, formerly Honorary Director of Training, Enforcement Branch, Civil Supplies Department, Bengal ; Sri N. N. Chakravarty, formerly Member, Income-Tax Appellate Tribunal ; Sri Girish Chandra Sen, retired Deputy Secretary, Government of Bengal (member-secretary) and Mr. P. N. Mukherjee, M.A., formarly Chief Auditor, E.I. Railway.

The terms of reference of the committee are as follows :—

1. To inquire into complaints and allegations of abuses and malpractices relating to the departments of the Controller of Examinations, Accounts and Audit, and Press which have been brought to the notice of the University authorities, and to determine which persons now connected with the University or its affiliated institutions are involved therein ;

2. To suggest remedies to prevent the recurrence of any abuses and irregularities that may be found, and to make recommendations for generally improving the administration.

The committee will not be called upon to consider matters which have already been disposed of by, or which are under the consideration of, the Syndicate or any other authority in the University.

The committee shall be empowered to call for all information from the University, inspect its records and documents and examine any members of the staff as it may deem fit. It shall also have power to examine witnesses and receive statements, and shall have full authority to settle its own procedure. The University will place the requisite staff at the disposal of the committee and otherwise render it all facilities. The Vice-Chancellor will be available at all times to assist the committee.

The committee is requested to submit its report within as short a period as possible, not exceeding three months.

* * * *

NEW PRESIDENTS OF COUNCILS OF POST-GRADUATE TEACHING

Since we went to press last, Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, the former Vice-Chancellor, has resigned the office of President of the two Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching. Dr. Banerjee was first elected President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts in August, 1947 and of the Science Council in July of the present year. As the head of both the Councils he rendered conspicuous service and did his best to improve the conditions of work of Post-Graduate teachers. It is unfortunate that in the peculiar circumstances through which the University has passed during the last three months he had to decide to resign these offices. The two Councils have accepted his resignation with considerable regret and adopted resolutions appreciating his services.

The Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Science has now elected Professor Meghnad Saha as its President. He does not come new to this office and requires no introduction at our hands. He was in fact previously President for two terms and we congratulate the Science Council on having him again as its leader and guide. Only recently he was a member of the Universities Commission and had opportunity in that capacity not only of studying the activities of other Universities in India but also of exchanging ideas with the experts who had been invited from abroad to work on the Commission. We have no doubt about it that under Professor Saha's leadership Post-Graduate Teaching in Science will further improve and scientific research in which the University of Calcutta has been the pioneer in India will be further stimulated and advanced.

The Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts has elected Professor Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D. as its President. Professor Banerjee has been associated with higher education for more than three decades and a half and earned a great reputation as a teacher of English Literature in the Presidency College and the Post-Graduate Department of the University. He is one of the few scholars in this country who made original contributions in this subject. Later he turned his attention to Bengali Literature in which subject his reputation as a serious scholar has grown considerably in recent years. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that four years ago when Ramtanu Lahiri Professorship of Bengali Literature in this University fell vacant, he was chosen for the post. During the long period that Professor Banerjee has spent as a teacher and scholar he has also given constructive thought to different educational and other problems of the country. We welcome him as our new leader of Post-Graduate studies in Arts and we hope that under his guidance there will be further impetus to higher research work which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for the first time initiated in this University and which has, since his time, carried its name to different corners of the world.

* * *

THE LATE PROFESSOR BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

As we were looking over the final proofs of this issue, news arrived from Washington of the death of Professor Sarkar. We were not prepared for this calamity. When he left for the U. S. A. in February last, he was the very picture of health and it was our hope that on return to his country which he loved so much he would have still many years of service. Our hope has been belied. This sudden and untimely death of Professor Sarkar is, it is needless to say, a serious and irreparable loss not only to the University of which he was an asset but to the general cultural life of the country. In the next issue we shall bring out a fuller sketch of his life and career.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Memo. No. C/2370/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22 read with Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Midnapore College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Biology to the I.Sc. standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1951 and not earlier.

Senate House,
The 20th September, 1949.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate, dated 9th September, 1949, Item No. 4.

"44. Read a letter, dated the 24th August, 1949, from the Registrar, East Punjab University, stating that the Principal, R S D. College, Ferozepore, has rusticated Niranjan Singh Brar of the 2nd-year class and Gurnam Singh Sidhu of the 4th-year class for one year on account of gross misconduct and that they shall be eligible for admission to their respective examinations in 1950, provided they join a college after the period of rustication is over and qualify themselves in all respects.

Ordered—(1) To be recorded.

(2) That the names of the students be published in the Calcutta Review.

Asst. Registrar.

Extract from the Minutes of Syndicate, dated 9th September, 1949.

'27. A Notification of the Utkal University notifying the names and particulars of the candidates who have been penalised for taking unfair means at the various examinations held in June, 1949.

Names and particulars of the candidates kept in the file.

Ordered—(*i*) To be recorded.

(*ii*) That the names be published in the Calcutta Review'.

Asst. Registrar.

Notification R. 2, dated 16th February, 1949

It is hereby notified for the information of the public that the undermentioned changes have been sanctioned by Government in Chapter V of the University Regulations relating to the formation of the Board of Studies :

In Section 4, last line, the word 'five' has been replaced by the word 'seven'.

In section 4A clause (*c*) paragraph 3, the word 'five' has been replaced by the word 'seven'.

Senate House,
The 16th September, 1949.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA

The undermentioned candidates, whose results were withheld pending certain enquiries, are debarred from appearing at any examination of the University in the years noted against each :

Roll No.	Name	Institution from which appeared	Penalty imposed
1110	Sobhag Chand Khard	S. S. Jain Subodh High School, Jaipur	High School Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from the examination of 1950.
1198	Kalyan Bux Mathur	S. K. Inter. College, Sikar	High School Examination of 1949 cancelled and debarred from the examinations of 1950 and 1951.

M. N. VARMA,
Registrar.
University of Rajputana,
Jaipur.

UIVERSITY OF SIND

Circular No. 5

No. Ex/A/1052 of 1949
University of Sind, Karachi,
Dated, 27th August, 1949.

From
THE REGISTRAR,
University of Sind, Karachi,

To
THE REGISTRAR,
University of Calcutta.

I have the honour to inform you that the Syndicate of the University of Sind has decided that the result of the following candidate at the B.A. Examination, 1949 be cancelled and he be debarred from admission to the authorities by putting in written applications to he effect that he was studying in the B.A. fourth year class at Hitakarani City College, Jubbulpore, although he was actually studying in the 3rd-year Class and for committing a orgery in his certificate by changing the words "Class III" into Class IV".

Seat No.	Name	Father's name	Surname	Examination	College from which sent up
253	Afzal Ahmed	Amir Mohd.	Shaikh	B.A.	Government College, Hyderabad (Sind).

Punishment

His result at the B-A. Examination 1949, is cancelled and he is debarred from admission to the University and from appearing at any examination for a period of 2 years, *viz.*, 1949 and 1950.

Sd Illegible,
Registrar, University of Sind.

UTKAL UNIVERSITY

No. 3629

Dated the 18th August, 1949

In accordance with the Standing Order 28 of the Syndicate the following candidates who took recourse to unfair means at the various examinations held in June, 1949 are penalised as noted against each :—

Matriculation

Roll No.	Name	Institutions	Penalties imposed
560	Bijayanarayan Brahma S/O Parsuram Brahma, Lanji Palli, P.O. Berhampore, Ganjam	Khallikote Collegiate High School, Berhampore, Ganjam.	Results for 1949 Supplementary examination cancelled and debarred from appearing at any of the examination prior to the Supplementary Examination of 1950.
621	Dasarathi Sabatho, S/O Raghunath Sabatho, Vill. Tangipulli. Berhampore, Ganjam.	Do.	Results for 1949 Supplementary Examination cancelled and allowed to appear at the Annual Examination of 1950.
1595	Purnachandra Patnaik (B), S/O Banchhanidhi Patnaik, Vill. Gambhari Dihi, P.O. Sarankula (Nayagarh) Dist. Puri.	Nayagarh B. H. School, Puri.	Results for 1949 Supplementary examination cancelled and debarred from appearing at any of the examinations prior to the Annual Examination of 1951.
		I.Sc.	
641	Rabasbehari Kar, S/O Basudeb Kar, Vill. Baratangi, P. O. Supalhara, Sambalpur.	Sambalpur College, Sambalpur.	Results for 1949 Supplementary examination cancelled and debarred from appearing at any of the examination prior to the Supplementary Examination of 1950.
442	Gundala Chinna Narsinha Swamy, S/O G. Narsinha Swamy, Retd. Police Officer, Main Road, Berhampore.	Khallikote College, Berhampore, Ganjam.	Results for 1949 Supplementary examination cancelled and debarred from appearing at any of the examination prior to the Supplementary Examination of 1950.
		I.A.	
359	Gobinda Chandra Mishra, S-O Raghunath' Mishra, Vill. Kanbei Bidyadharpur, P.O. Algum, Dist. Puri.	Puri College, Puri	Results for 1949 Supplementary examination cancelled and debarred from appearing at any of the examination prior to the Supplementary examination of 1950.

University Office,
Cuttack,
The 18th August, 1949

G. C. RATH,
Registrar.

THE BRITISH COUNCIL

TRAVEL GRANTS *for Promotion of Interchange between Universities in the United Kingdom and in Commonwealth Countries*

CONDITIONS OF AWARD FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1950/51

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

To facilitate interchange between universities of the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries a number of grants towards the cost of travel will be available for award to persons in the following three categories :

Category A : University Teachers or Officers on recognised study leave.

It is intended that the majority of grants should be made to persons in this category. Preference will be given to university teachers of at least five years' standing. Awards under this heading are not open to candidates who propose to study for a degree. Such candidates should apply under Category C.

Category B : Distinguished Scholars and Scientists invited by universities for short visits.

Category C : Post-graduate Research Workers holding research grants.

Applications in this category will rank third in order of priority : and will thorefore be relatively few in number. In general, preference will be given to cases in which the holder of a graduate award of high standing requires additional assistance to meet the cost of travel. University teachers who propose to pursue a programme of research leading to a degree should also apply under this category.

2. VALUE OF AWARDS

(a) *Categories A and C.*

An amount approximately equal to the average cost of a sea passage each way in the tourist class, or its equivalent, will be paid direct to the persons receiving assistance, who will be responsible for arranging their own travel. Flat rates for the double journey have been fixed for each country and are set out below :

Canada, East ...	£ 80	South Africa ...	£ 120
Canada, West of Ontario ...	£ 120	India ...	£ 150
Australia ...	£ 180	Pakistan ...	£ 170
New Zealand ...	£ 200	Ceylon ...	£ 125

(b) *Category B*

Passages may be by sea or air, depending on circumstances, and will normally be arranged by the British Council.

3. ELIGIBILITY

(a) Any suitably qualified member of a recognised university or university college in the United Kingdom or in any of the above-mentioned Commonwealth countries who fulfils the conditions set out below is eligible for consideration.

(b) Retrospective applications (*i.e.*, applications from persons who have already succeeded in reaching the country they wish to visit) will not normally be considered.

4. CONDITIONS OF AWARD : *Category A*

(a) Applicants are required to submit the following particulars :

- (i) Age
- (ii) Academic qualifications and experience
- (iii) Proposed place or places of study
- (iv) Proposed period of study leave
- (v) Programme of work
- (vi) The names of two referees, of whom one should preferably be in the Unite Kingdom.
- (vii) Particulars of any other grant held or applied for in connection with the vi proposed.

(b) All applications must be sponsored by and submitted through the applicant's ov University, which should furnish the statement mentioned in 4(c),

(c) Applications will normally be considered only where the applicant's own universit provides evidence that he has been given leave of absence with pay and conditions not les favourable than those provided for in the university's (or other competent authority's regulations for study leave, or those granted under its normal practice, not being less than six months' leave of absence on full pay.

(d) Applicants must undertake to spend at least six months at the university or universities which they propose to visit.

(e) The university or universities named by an applicant as his proposed place or places of study must be willing to receive him. Applicants should state whether they have been accepted or whether they have yet to arrange this The Committee cannot undertake to assist in the placing of applicants.

5. CONDITIONS OF AWARD : *Category B*

(a) Visits so assisted are intended to enable the visiting scholar or scientist of distinction to meet and mix with the rising younger workers in his own field rather than to give a series of public lectures.

(b) It is intended that these visits should normally be of at least six weeks' duration, two or three universities being visited during this period.

(c) It is understood that the inviting universities will extend all necessary hospitality and will meet the costs of travel within the country.

(d) Applications for assistance with passage money should be submitted by the university or universities issuing the invitation. Preference will normally be given to joint invitations from more than one university.

6. CONDITIONS OF AWARD : *Category C*

(a) Applicants are required to submit the following particulars :

(i) Age
(ii) Academic qualifications and experience.
(iii) Proposed place of study
(iv) Proposed length of stay
(v) Programme of work
(vi) The names of two referees, of whom one should, if possible, be in the United Kingdom.
(vii) Particulars of any other grant held or applied for in connection with the visit proposed.

(b) All applications must be sponsored by and submitted through the applicant's own university.

(c) Applicants must be in a position to maintain themselves fully during the period of their proposed visit.

(d) Applicants must undertake to spend at least six months at the University where they propose to work.

(e) The university named by an applicant as his proposed place of study must be willing to receive him. Applicants should state whether they have been accepted or whether they have yet to arrange this. The Committee cannot undertake to assist in the placing of applicants.

7. INSTRUCTIONS FOR SUBMITTING APPLICATIONS

a) Categories A and C .

Persons in these categories should send two copies of their application to the Vice-Chancellor, Principal or President of their own University for forwarding to the Secretary, Committee for Commonwealth University Interchange, c/o The British Council, 3 Hanover Street, London, W. 1.

(b) *Category B.*

Particulars of visits which it is desired to arrange should be sent by the inviting university or universities to the Secretary, Committee for Commonwealth University Interchange, c/o The British Council, 3 Hanover Street, London, W. 1.

8. METHOD OF AWARD

The awards will be made on the recommendation of a Committee—under the chairmanship of Sir Hector Hetherington, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of

Glasgow—composed of representatives of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the United Kingdom, and of the Universities Advisory Committee of the British Council.

9. PAYMENT OF TRAVEL GRANTS

Grants will normally be paid in the United-Kingdom in sterling. In the case of persons proceeding to the United Kingdom one-half will be paid immediately on arrival and the remainder at any time within two months of the date of departure. In cases of necessity it may be possible to make special arrangements to pay part of the grant before sailing.

10. DATE BY WHICH APLICATIONS MUST BE RECEIVED

(*a*) All applications in *Categories A and B* should be received in London as soon as possible and not later than December 31st, 1949, after which date it will not be possible to guarantee that such applications can be considered.

(*b*) All applications in *Category C* should also preferably be received by December 31st, 1949. However, in view of the different period of the academic year in the Southern Hemisphere, the Committee will be willing to consider applications in Category C from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa provided these are received by April 15th, 1950.

CUK-H00525-168 - GS 16023

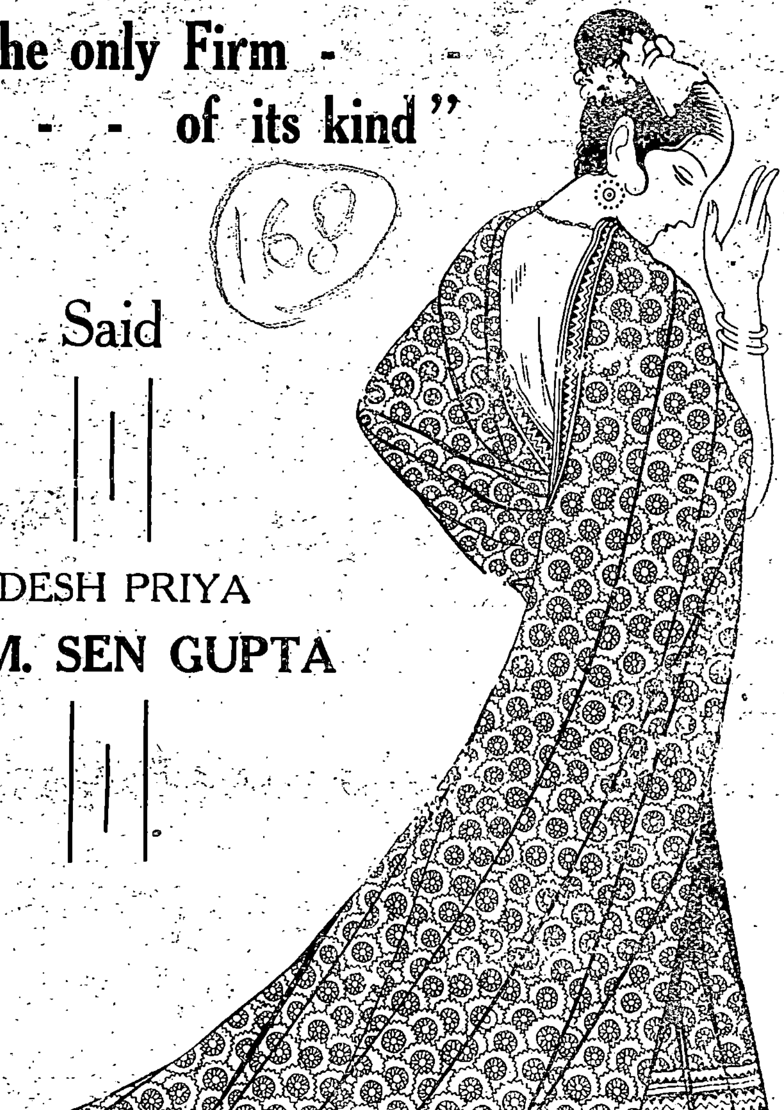
"The only Firm - - - - - - of its kind"

168

Said

DESH PRIYA

J. M. SEN GUPTA



Indian silk-House

COLLEGE STREET MARKET, CALCUTTA

PHONE B. B. 411

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Subscription

Annual subscription ...	Rs. 7-8 (with postage)
Half-yearly „ ...	Rs. 4 „ „
Single number ...	12 as. per copy.
Foreign, Annual ...	14*s.* net (with postage)
„ Half-yearly ...	7*s.* 6*d.* „ „
„ Single number ...	1*s.* 6*d.*

Scale of Advertisement Charges

	Rs.
Front Cover Page	45 (per insertion
Back and Inside Cover Page ...	85 („
Full Page	80 („
Half Page	17 („
Quarter Page	10 („

All *Subscriptions* are *payable in advance.* The year of the *Calcutta Review* begins in October, and it is desirable that subscription should commence with October or April; but the *Review* may be supplied from any other month as well. *Cheques* on banks situated outside Calcutta are not accepted. *Terms* are strictly cash, or value payable on delivery by post. Complaints of non-receipt of any issue should reach this office before 15th of that month. In all cases it is necessary that the *Subscriber Number* should be quoted. The *Review* comes out on the 1st of every month, and there are 12 issues in the year.

Advertisement : Advertisers should send revised advertisement copies if necessary within the 15th of the preceding month.

Contributions : The Editorial Board of the *Calcutta Review* will be pleased to receive contributions on subjects of general cultural and educational interest, as also articles on current political, economic, social and cultural topics and movements of national and international significance. Highly technical articles are discouraged, except when they aim at a high standard of scholarship and literary excellence.

Sailendra Nath Mitra,
Naresh Chandra Roy.
Jt. Hony. Secretaries, Board of Editors.

CHOICEST INDIAN TEA LEAVES IN A
MATCHLESS BLEND

TOSH'S TEA

The Popular Quality Tea of India : A pleasure to drink & to offer

A. TOSH & SONS
TEA MERCHANTS
11-1, HARRISON ROAD, CALCUTTA.

TO

The Graduates

OF

THE UNIVERSITY

DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS,

Coming out of your colleges with University certificates of success, you are faced with the immediate problem of how to choose a CAREER in the phase of life you are now entering. Of course all of you are keenly anxious to succeed and you are eager to work hard, for you know as everybody knows, that it is a long and arduous road that leads to success.

Whether you take to business or a profession, success will not be achieved as a matter of course without long and sustained effort through years of trial and test.

But Insurance Selling is a striking exception to this general rule. Here the "trial and test" process is quick and certain. In no other profession can you reach your goal of a substantial income as quickly and as surely as in the life insurance salesmanship. **Besides, it is a distinguished calling.**

The knowledge of what life insurance is and what it can do for those who avail of it, does not take years of study to master. Qualities which are essential to the development of a competent agent, are readily recognised by the *Hindusthan* in the new recruit who will soon blossom into a **successful agent.**

Successful Agents have risen to distinction and affluence in the Hindusthan—where you get liberal terms and square dealings.

Ambitious young men, trustworthy young men, men who can forge ahead to earn for themselves commanding positions are the real men always wanted by the

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE

INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED

Head Office:

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS

4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

THE COMILLA UNION BANK LIMITED.

ESTD. 1922

REGD. OFFICE : 8, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Authorised Capital	Rs.	2,00,00,000
Issued & Subscribed Capital	,,	1,00,00,000
Subscribed Capital	,,	1,00,00,000
Paid up Capital ... over	,,	82,00,000
Reserve Fund ... over	,,	34,23,000

An well established Bank carrying on business on sound lines far more than 26 years.

Branches at important trade centres in India and Pakistan and transacting Exchange Business of every description with all principal commercial places of the world. Terms may be ascertained on application.

Current and Savings account opened and interest allowed at 1/4 p.c. and 1 p.c. respectively. Fixed Deposits accepted for 6 and 12 months. Terms on application.

Loans and Advances allowed against approved securities.

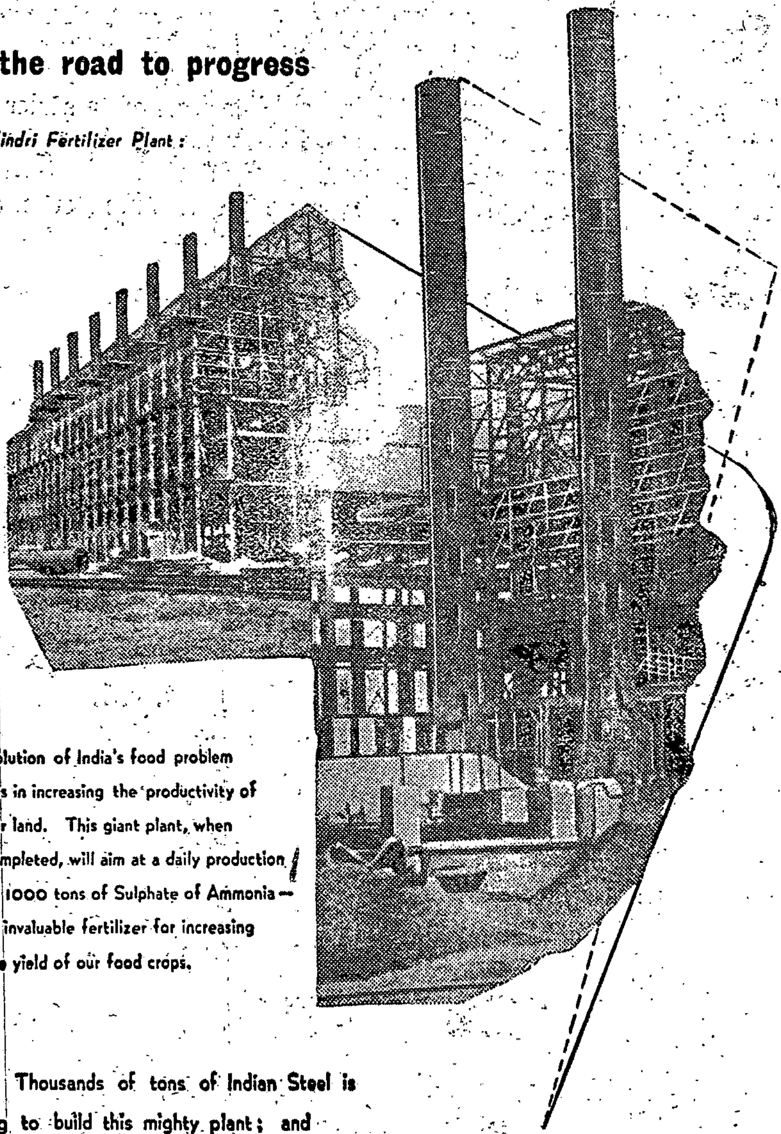
Bills discounted and collected.

Managing Director : DR. S. B. DUTT.

No. 1

on the road to progress

The Sindri Fertilizer Plant :



Solution of India's food problem lies in increasing the productivity of her land. This giant plant, when completed, will aim at a daily production of 1000 tons of Sulphate of Ammonia—an invaluable fertilizer for increasing the yield of our food crops.

Thousands of tons of Indian Steel is helping to build this mighty plant; and Steel in its various forms will assist at every stage in the production of fertilizers and in their distribution.

TATA STEEL

THE TATA IRON & STEEL COMPANY, LIMITED, HEAD SALES OFFICE: 338 NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Calcutta University
Special Bengali Publication Series

The university has undertaken publication of a series of books in Bengali in different branches of knowledge. The series is primarily intended for the general readers and students, the subject matter being dealt with in a simple and non-technical manner.

Recent books under the series :

Bangla Sahityer Katha
By Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. pp. 210+xvi. Rs. 2-8.

Prachin Bangla Sahityer Katha
By Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. pp. 128+142+viii.

Bangla Chander Mulsutra
(FOURTH EDITION)
By Amulyadhan Mukhopadhyay, M.A., P.R.S.
Demy 8vo. pp. 236+ix. Rs. 4.

Bangla Nataker Utpatti o Kramabikas
By Manmathamohan Basu, M.A.
Demy 8vo. pp. 266+xv. Rs. 7.

Bankimchandrer Bhasha
By Ajarchandra Sarkar, D. Demy 16 mo.
pp. 120+xxix. Rs. 2.

Gitar Bani
By Anilbaran Ray, Demy 8vo. pp. 161+

Upanishader Alo
By Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
Demy 8vo. (Shortly to be published).

Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan
By Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt.
Royal 8vo. pp. 285+ix+note xvi+synopsis 99+ix. Rs. 5.

Patanjal Yogadarsan—
(SECOND EDITION
By Swami Hariharananda Aranya, Royal 8vo. pp. 806+viii.

"I take tea everyday at least twice and find it quite invigorating. I am not aware that it has produced any harmful effect on my health. On the contrary, the morning cup makes me cheerful and renders me fit for starting the day's work."

M. N. Saha

TEA

for Inspiration

ITX 326

✩ *Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., Palit Professor and Head of the Department of Physics, Calcutta University, is one of the most eminent scientists of India and is famous internationally for his work on Nuclear Physics, especially on the Theory of Stellarspectra which brought him the Fellowship of the Royal Society. He represented India at the 220th Anniversary of the foundation of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1945.*

✩

INSERTED BY
THE CENTRAL TEA BOARD

CALCUTTA NATIONAL BANK LIMITED

Head Office: CALCUTTA NATIONAL BANK BUILDINGS,
MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA

Paid up Capital: ... Rs. 50,00,000/-
Reserves over: ... Rs. 24,00,000/-

BRANCH OFFICES:

Calcutta
Ballygunge
Bhowanipore
Barabazar
Canning St.
Hatkhola
High Court
Kalighat
Shambazar
Delhi
Lucknow
Allahabad
Katra
Banares
Patna
Gaya
Cuttack
Asansol
Bombay (Fort)
Kalvadevi
Sandhurst Rd.
Ahmedabad
Ajmer
Agra
Kanpur
Meston Rd.
Bareilly
Madras
Nagpur
Nagpur City
Amraoti
Jubbulpore
Jubbulpore Cant.
Raipur
Chittagong
Dacca

London Agents: MIDLAND BANK LTD.

Current, Savings and Fixed Deposit Accounts accepted in all the offices of the Bank. Interest on Savings Bank deposits allowed at 1½ p.c. per annum. Withdrawals by cheques.

Have an account with the "CALCUTTA NATIONAL"

ADVERTISEMENT

IN THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

IS AN

INVESTMENT

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1950

CONTENTS

PAGE

Mahārāja Sarvavarman of the Nirmand copper-plate inscription
J. N. Banerjee 1

Atomic Sociology
F. Goss 5

Cameons and the Lusiadas
Bailon De Sa 17

East Bengal Refugees —a study in Social disequilibrium
A. K. Majumdar 25

The Population Census of 1951
S. R. Bose 31

Maritime Peoples of Ancient India
Pareshchandra Dasgupta 39

Panchayat Raj in U. P.
N. C. Ray 42

Round the World 54

Reviews and Notices of Books 62

Ourselves 66

Notifications 71

The Pioneer House for quality cloth for Gents & Ladies
Woollen, Cotton, Silk, Viyella and Clydella
in various latest designs and shades.
We guarantee entire satisfaction.

J. S. MOHAMEDALLY

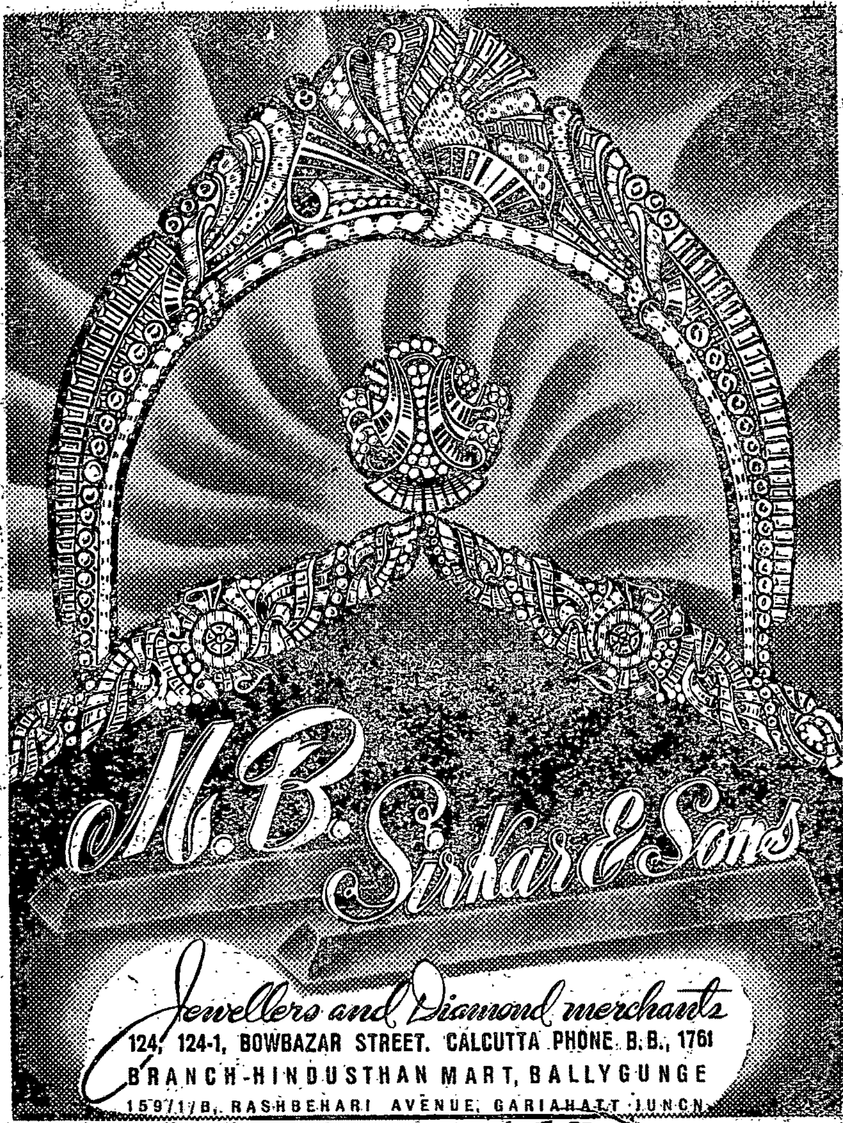
Phone—CITY 1742 **Telegram—SOFTWEAR**

CLOTH MERCHANT

TOWER HOUSE : CHOWRINGHEE SQUARE : CALCUTTA
NO BRANCH IN CALCUTTA

CRCU 363

CRCU 363



M. B. Sirkar & Sons
Jewellers and Diamond merchants
124, 124-1, BOWBAZAR STREET. CALCUTTA PHONE B. B., 1761
BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE
159/1/B, RASHBEHARI AVENUE, GARIAHATT JUNCN.

GS 1603

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
CENTRAL LIBRARY

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1950

MAHĀRĀJA ŚARVAVARMAN OF THE NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION*

Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D.,
Lecturer, Calcutta University

The copperplate inscription belonging to the temple of Paraśurāma in the village of Nirmand in the Kullu Division of the Kangra District of the Punjab records the allotment of the village of Śūlīśagrāma in the *agrahāra* of Nirmanda to some Brāhmaṇas for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka by Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Samudrasena. Samudrasena belonged to a line of feudatory chiefs in the region, and traced his descent from one Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Varuṇāsena, his great grandfather. The date of the inscription, year 6 in numerical sign, does not help us in fixing it chronologically. Fleet suggests that the year can very well be referred to the Harsha era on palaeographical grounds, but doubts 'the probability of the years of Harshavardhan's reign having been constituted an era of general acceptance quite so soon after his accession'.[1] He thinks that it is the regnal year of Samudrasena himself, who reigned some time (in the first half) of the seventh century A.D.

The god Tripurāntaka (Śiva, the destroyer of the demon Tripura) was installed under the name Mihireśvara by Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakshmī at a previously established shrine of the same god with the name Kapāleśvara. Kapāleśvara was installed by one Mahārāja Śarvavarman who also made some endowment to the deity at the time of its installation. Nothing is said in the copper-plate regarding the identity of Śarvavarman, and this has led to some difference of opinion among scholars about the determination of this problem.

---

* A paper read in the Bombay Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, History Section.

[1] Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 287.

Aravamuthan is of opinion that he was the same as the Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman of the Maukhari lineage. He writes, "As we know of no other Śarvavarman of about this period, we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Śarvavarman had been able to extend his dominion so far west in the course of his wars with the Hūṇas."[2] D. R. Bhandarkar admits the probability of the Mahārāja Śarvavarman of the Nirmand grant being the same as the Mahārājādhirāja Śarvavarman of the Āsirgaḍh Seal.[3] R. S. Tripathi, however, questions the identity. His principal grounds for holding a different view are the following: The Maukhari King is uniformly endowed with such paramount titles as Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara in the dynastic records, whereas Śarvavarman of the Nirmand plate is described as a mere Mahārāja; Aravamuthan's view would mean that "the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over the intervening Vardhana dominions, and Prabhākara who certainly was an independent king, had to fight against the Maukharis to wrest independence. Of this there is not a shred of evidence, but on the contrary the manner of description in the *Harshacharita* shows that both the powers were on very amicable and cordial terms."[4]

Tripathi is right in challenging Aravamuthan's theory about the extension of the Maukhari monarch's sway in a far distant corner of the Pnjab, but the soundness of this part of his contention would not necessarily disprove that the king might have been the person responsible for the installation of the image of Kapāleśvara Śiva in the Kangra region. As Tripathi himself has shown, Śarvavarman was a mighty monarch who not only retrieved the partly lost fortunes of the Maukhari dynasty (his father Īśānavarman was defeated by the later Gupta King Kumāragupta) by defeating Dāmodaragupta, but also came in conflict with and vanquished the Hūṇas. The Āphsaḍ stone inscription of Ādityasena refers to the 'proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death)'.[5] Śarvavarman alone among the Maukhari kings is specifically described as 'the Maukhari' in the Āsīrgaḍh Seal, and he was certainly the most important ruler of the dynasty. These Hūṇa opponents of the Maukhari were presumably holding some political power and influence in the north-west, and the Indian chiefs of the interior, especially the more powerful among them, sometimes went

---

[2] *The Kāveri, the Maukhari, and the Saṅgam Age*, p. 93

[3] *List of North Indian Inscriptions* p. 255, f.n. 2.

[4] *History of Kanauj*, pp. 54-5.

[5] *CII*, III, p. 206.

GS. 1603

on war with these alien foes for their own safety and the security of the Indian hinterland. Bāṇa alludes to Prabhākaravardhana's fight against them, and there is much to be said in favour of Tripathi's suggestion that 'Śarvavarman's undertakings against the Hūṇas were a sort of help given to the Vardhanas to repel their depredations and save northern India from another Hūṇa upheaval'.[6] The religious act ascribed to Śarvavarman in the Nirmand plate might have been performed by the powerful Maukhari sovereign after his victory over the Hūṇas in the sphere of influence of his friends and allies, the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara (this part of the south-eastern Punjab might as well have been included in the Vardhana kingdom). The absence of any imperial titles connected with his name in the inscription would not be a strong point against this hypothesis, for the simple reason that the installation and endowment were not being done in his own territory. Pious acts performed in the dominions of contemporary friendly kings by monarchs of far more distant regions are on record in the history of Ancient India. Two such instances can be cited here. It is a well-known fact that Samudragupta's Ceylonese contemporary Meghavarṇa sent an embassy with presents to the great Gupta sovereign and got his permission to build a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh-Gayā for the use of the pilgrims from Ceylon.[7] The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla records the grant of five villages in the *vishayas* of Rājagṛiha and Gayā by the Pāla king at the request of Suvarṇadvipādhipati Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, the grandson of a Śailendra king of Yava-bhūmi. The land was intended for the upkeep of a Buddhist monastery built by the Śailendra king at Nālandā. It is true there is nothing on record in the Nirmand inscription which would definitely prove that Śarvavarman was the Maukhari chief obtaining permission from the real ruler of the land for the act of piety; but the reference to the pious deed itself is so casual or incidental in the inscription, that one may ignore this omission. There are, on the other hand, several positive reasons which taken collectively would support our contention. There is no other Śarvavarman known at this period; the dynastic list of the early mediaeval kings of Chambā, though it contains many names ending in *Varman*, does not include it.[9] The king instals the image (most probably a Śivaliṅga) of the God Kapāleśvara Śiva, and the

---

[6] R. S. Tripathi. *op. cit*, p. 47.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 194.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. xvii, p. 316ff.
[9] J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 82-95; a few only among them are known from their inscriptions.

Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja was an initiated Śaiva, for of all the Maukhari chiefs named in the Āsirgaḍh Seal, it is he alone who is described as *Parama-Māheśvara.* It is possible that he was a Pāśupata, and as such his installation of the Kapāleśvara form of Śiva would be highly appropriate. It has already been shown that he had to go far northwards from his kingdom during his political career, and it was probably during this expedition that an act of piety was done by him in a remote corner of the Himālayas, one of the strongholds of the Śaiva sect.

The Nirmand plate incidentally brings to light certain interesting facts connected with the history of the Śaiva sect. It shows that this locality had a Śaiva establishment sometimes previous to the period of Samudrasena, where Śaiva clericals resided. The Brāhmaṇas studying the *Atharva Veda,* to whom the grant was made by the king were probably their descendants. Mihireśvar Śiva's shrine was built inside the compound of the Kapāleśvara-Śiva temple under the auspices of Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakshmī. With regard to the name Mihireśvara, Fleet remarks, "the occurrence of the word *mihira*, 'the sun', as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites" (*op. cit.*, p. 288). The association of the Śaiva and Saura cults can be established on the basis of other data.[10] But 'Mihireśvara' here is evidently based on Samudrasena's mother's name.[11] Its first component may, however, indicate some association of the lady's parents with the peculiar form of the sun-cult then prevalent in northern India. It is of interest to note also the name of the Śaiva image installed much earlier by Śarvavarman. Kapāleśvara appears to have been chiefly associated with the Kāpālikas, a subsect of the Pāśupata order. The existence of this subsect in this period in a far distant corner of India is proved by the copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin II's nephew Nāgavardhana (1st half of the 7th century A.D.). It records the grant of a village near Igatpuri (Dist. Nasik) for the worship of the god Kāpāleśvara and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple.[12] The term *mahāvratin* or *mahāvratadhara* ('wielder of the great vow') is generally used to denote the Kāpālikas as a branch of the Pāśupatas or Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas who had also some specific vows to maintain.

---

[10] Cf. the Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava image in the Rajshahi Museum Collection; *Dacca History af Bengal,* Vol. I, p. 458.

[11] Cf. the name Pṛithivīśvara-Śiva in the Karamdāṇḍā inscription, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, pp. 71 ff. & pl.

[12] *JBBRAS,* Vol. xiv, p, 26.

ATOMIC SOCIOLOGY

FELIKS GROSS

Brooklyn College; Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies,
New York University

I. ATOMIC SOCIOLOGY

Implications of atomic energy in the field of international relations were from the very beginning widely studied and discussed because of its negative, destructive force. There is, however, also a constructive and creative aspect to it—a discovery of a tremendous source of new energy which will affect our society and its future development not only in the realm of international relations but in the widest sense—in the whole area of social change, social structure, economics, government, leisure, education and others.

This large range of problems connected with discovery of atomic energy and its social consequences calls for the research, ideas and vision of social and political scientists. In fact, mankind, flabbergasted by the lack of social safeguards against such destructive power and the possibilities of new atomic discovery, looks to them for guidance, advice and proper solution. Already a number of challenging writings can be mentioned in this field.[1] The problem requires, however, a systematic, organized and intregrated approach.

At the recent conventions of American sociologists, one could hardly find a general interest in this area despite the primary significance of these problems and the public interest. Still, hopefully enough, there is a group of sociologists already pioneering in this new territory; one might mention here the new studies of Hornell Hart[2] or the excellent studies in public opinion under the chairmanship of Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.,[3] and writings of Redfield, Ogburn and others.

[1] To mention here as examples those of John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Robert Hutchins, James T. Shotwell, W. F. Ogburn, A. D. Gideonse, R. B. Fosdick, and F. L. Schuman, and many others.

[2] I had the privilege of seeing the manuscript of Professor Hornell Hart's interesting book, *Social Science and the Atomic Crisis*, prepared for the Society of the Psychological Study of Social issues. Professor Hart, in his paper, analyzes the accelerated rate of destructive power, and discusses it in connection with what he calls "destructive culture complexes." He calls for swift acceleration in social science to meet the challenge of technology and outlines a method for an "Action-Related Research Program." See also Hart, "Technological Acceleration and the Atomic Bomb," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1946.

[3] "Public Reaction to the Atomic Bomb, A Nation-wide Survey of Attitudes and Information," Cornell University (mimeographed edition). This survey was made in 1946 by a Cornell University group composed of H. Cantril, P. Hening, R. Likert and L. S. Cottrell, Jr.

The large area of problems connected with the discovery of atomic energy perhaps would justify the creation of an integrated social science sub-discipline with a subject matter of social political adjustment to the atomic discovery and the discovery of new energies. As Atomic Sociology may sound too ponderous and pompous, we may call such a discipline Sociology of Basic Energies. Such a discipline may also show a need for a new type of knowledge with social science, since it might be hard to analyze social consequences of technological changes without a good knowledge of their technical character. This would be only a further development of the study of social change.

INVENTION OF MACHINES AND DISCOVERY OF NEW BASIC ENERGIES

To start with, a distinction has to be made between inventions of new machines and tools and discoveries of new energies. The influence of the latter on social change, while in many respects very similar, is much more basic. Discovery of fire, gunpowder, electricity, atomic energy, and steam as sources of energy were and are of primary historical significance, determining long trends of technical and social development. Atomic energy is probably not the last one. New kinds of energies may still be discovered, may be entirely different than the present ones, and may mark future historical epochs.

Students of social change, thus far, have made little or no clear distinction between various types of discoveries and inventions, especially between discovery of new basic energies and mechanical inventions as vehicles of social change. Even the materialistic deterministic school, whether in its classical approach of Marx and Engels or in its most orthodox, narrow approach as represented by Plechanov or Bucharin or in the liberal approach of Kautsky and Bauer, did not make clear distinction between change in energies and machines despite the fact that their basic tenet was the change of means of production. "Change of means of production," in fact, was taken by them as a concept without any further analysis of single elements of the mechanism of technological change. Similarly, William F. Ogburn, in his challenging *Social Change*, did not make a clear distinction between both.

Moreover, various studies in prediction of invention did not anticipate a basic change in energies or sources of energy. Again, this writer does not know any social prediction, out of numerous ones, in which atomic energy was foreseen. The splitting of the atom was anticipated by physicists, but sociologists, it seems to me, did not evaluate the social consequences. To take a few older and some more recent predictions, not one, definitely not one contains any hunch that new energies might be discovered. A physicist, Sir William Crookes, back in 1892[4] foresaw rather correctly the future use of electricity. His prophecies were in a high percentage of instances verified by later discoveries, but he did not mention any possibilities of basic change in sources of energy.

S. C. Gilfillan, a contemporary sociologist of inventions, in his numerous writings on social consequences of inventions as well as in his anticipations, challenging and often correct as these have been, did not predict any change in sources of energies as late as in the late thirties.[5]

It seems that the discovery of atomic energy came rather unexpectedly even to the leading students of social change. Their interest was centered more around modern machines and means of communication.

I am far from underestimating the latter. The same has to be said about the discovery of new elements, also new materials such as plastics. My suggestion is merely that students of social change might find it advisable to explore and differentiate various basic types of inventions and discoveries and study effects according to these types, to mention only three: energies, elements and materials, machine tools and transportation. New elements might sometimes create new types of energies, at other times new materials.

PROBLEMS

What is a subject matter of such a study? What are the problems we can anticipate as social consequences of the discovery of new energies? We shall mention a few :

1. Discovery of new energies will further limit manual effort in production. This will affect the distribution of labor, and in consequence affect the present social structure.

---

[4] "Some Possibilities of Electricity" by Sir William Crookes in the *Fortnightly Review*, February 1, 1892.

[5] Gilfillan does not mention possibilities of new sources of energy in his *Sociology of Inventions* nor in his interesting study "Prediction of Inventions," published in *Technological Trends and National Policy*, June, 1937, National Resources Committee, nor in his predictive articles in Professor Ogburn's Journal, *Social Change*, where back in 1932 he was predicting new cities—"moneopolis"—an air-cooled, neon-lighted super Rockefeller Center. The atomic bomb made such plans obsolete.

2. Change in class structure in Europe (because of its political pattern) may affect distribution of political power.
3. Discovery of basic energies leads to public ownership of basic energies. This trend has been noticed even in United States in connection with the discovery of atomic energy. The only solution, the official one, thus far proposed is nationalization or internationalization of atomic energy, which in other words means socialization on a national or international level.[6]

This in turn leads to the emergence of economic power next to the executive, legislative, and judicial. Problems of checks and balances and problems of separation of power as necessary safeguards for a democratic system arise in a new specific situation—again a field of inquiry for a political scientist as well as for a political sociologist. The trend toward nationalization is general today in Europe, in many other fields than economics, but in the realm of atomic energy this tendency from the very beginning has been almost "monopolistic", unique, without any other important competitive propositions.

4. In the realm of social interaction, discovery of new destructive energies calls for a much greater organization of human cooperation in various forms and the elimination of conflicts. This is a matter of survival in the realm of international relations. However Compton[7] rightly points to the necessity of a broad cooperation as a consequence of the atomic discovery. It seems to me that Compton's conclusions are based on the atomic project experience in team work, since he writes that the "job was done well and fast" that way. He very rightly stresses: "In this will to cooperate we see the basic principle of a smoothly working society."

Concentration of basic energies and their general use contribute also to a further division of labour in a functional sense. This makes man more and more dependent on the work of others. We are already more dependent today on our water supply, gas, and electricity than we were fifty years ago. In this sense a peasant in the Balkans who is using a candle for his light, wood for heating, water from his well and a horse as traction power is much more independent. But functional interdependence of men creates the need for smooth cooperation, otherwise the whole economy and all the operations of society may collapse. Cheap inexpensive energies will still foster general use of energies, in a higher degree than today, and will make us functionally more interdependent than ever.

---

[6] "Atomic Energy Act of 1946", April 19 (legislative day March 5), 1946 (Calendar No. 1251, Report 1211, 79th Congress, Senate) submitted by Mr. McMahon. This document contains a wealth of information on atomic problems, especially useful for a social and political scientist. "A Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy," C. I. Barnard, J. R. Oppenheimer, C. A. Thomas, H. A. Winne, D. E. Lilienthal, Chairman, Washington, D. C., Department of State, March, 1946.

[7] Arthur H. Compton, "Social Implications of Atomic Energy", *Think*, May, 1946.

5. One of the factors which contributes to our inventiveness is our objectives, our value systems. We owe to them our dynamic, inventive approach to life. Tools have their social ends, and social ends are deeply rooted in the ideology of a society. Atomic energy might be used for one social end—total destruction of mankind, and for another—struggle against misery, hunger, disease. Energy as such is neutral; the ends are not neutral. We understand an invention only if we relate it to the society, to its idea-system, to values, to the social objectives inventions will serve. Discovery of atomic energy is one of the greatest challenges to our morals that mankind has ever faced. A dangerous dichotomy between our moral advance and technological progress may bring total destruction to mankind. We face today a challenge—a challenge of parallel advance—in the field of our morals and values as well as in the field of technology.[8]

Here is a number of problems—a broad, challenging, creative field for a social scientist—a field which simultaneously touches sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, and psychology, and calls for an integrated approach and scientific method.[9]

---

[8] John Dewey discusses similar problems in "Dualism and the Split of Atom. Science and Morals in Atomic Age, " *New Leader*, Nov. 17, 1946. Hornell Hart in his manuscript, "Social Science and the Atomic Crisis," (quoted above) mentions the significance of an extensive study of problems of values in connection with the atomic discovery; Compton in the above quoted article stresses too a need for agreement on objectives as a matter of survival. This writer discussed these problems in ' Problems of International Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*," September, 1946, and in a chapter "Parallelism and Progress" in *European Ideologies*, New York, 1948.

[9] One of the first, but preliminary, efforts to attack the problem on an integrated level was a special issue of "*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1947, devoted entirely to *Social Implications of Modern Science* with articles of Crane, Compton, Meyerhoff, Brodie, Briggs, Cushmen, Bromage, Marquis, Ogburn, Stason, Thompson, Wirth and many others. Interestingly enough, a substantial part is devoted to the problems of values—written by Haber, Keniston and Schuster.

Three recent books plead strongly for a scientific approach to social problems connected with the atomic discovery as well as with implications of modern science: S. Chase, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, New York, 1948, G. A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?*, New York, 1947 and A. H. Leighton, *Human Relations in a Changing World*, New York,

II

INTELLIGENTSIA, HYPOTHESIS AND METHOD

In the second part of this article we shall limit our discussion to one problem only. Space does not permit us to deal with more possible social effects of the productive use of atomic energy as a new source of basic energy on the future social structure.

Our hypothesis is : use of atomic energy will further eliminate physical effort. In consequence purely manual employment will grow slower, while intellectual labor will expend. As intellectual work increases, the new middle class, or intelligentsia, which forms a class in Europe, will expand. Within the working class, effort of muscles and lungs will be increasingly replaced by effort of nerves and by mental work.

We shall further reduce our discussion to two main variables (*a*) a changing social class-intelligentsia, and (*b*) new basic energies. Relations, both variables, are of functional character, though for purposes of discussion we shall translate the function in a causal order energies as cause of the change in social structure; increase in number of intellectual workers, or the intelligentsia, as effects of technological change.

It is impossible, however, in any social study to eliminate all other factors which affect a given variable. The growth of an intelligentsia which can be observed since the end of the 19th century is not a result of one cause alone. There are other causes which produce a change in social structure. It will be a mistake to disregard the others for the sake of a better, clearer presentation of a problem, for the sake of a more handsome theory. Therefore, in all our studies of social change as caused by the discovery of new energies, our variables should not be taken out of context and discussed entirely detached from social realities, but on the contrary, they should be discussed within the social context. Therefore, in this

---

1949. Chase makes an inventory of our scientific methods and techniques in social sciences which would be used in solving those problems. Lundberg pleads strongly for broad application of scientific methods as "scientists in general are finally awakening to the fact that unless the social sciences are developed, our net reward for the development of other sciences may be destruction." A similar position takes Leighton. All three books challenging and brilliant—try to separate "scientific" from the values and philosophical, moral ends of mankind. MacIver reviewing Leighton's book in the New Leader, "Atom Bombs and Social Sciences" October 1, 1949, asks "Knowledge about what...is it something that lies in the attitudes of men and groups and nations toward one another?" and stresses the need for teaching men about our values and destruction connected with "abuse of power... suppressing integrity of groups and people."

paper, too, the other significant causes as a part of general causal conditions resulting in social change will be mentioned. The two other factors (variables) in this study are: (1) expanding bureaucratic state, (2) mechanization.

THE EMERGING CLASS

As the working class matured in the 19th Century, and the Eastern European peasantry emerged as a social force and political factor in the second half of that Century, so it seems, the intelligentsia appeared as one of the significant classes of the 20th Century. While the intelligentsia in the United States still forms a part of the middle class (though it became a functional group with considerable degree of cohesion in some areas), in Europe appeared as a new social stratum or, as some prefer, a new social class.

The intelligentsia are a social stratum of technicians, bureaucrats, persons in the liberal professions, teachers, and students; in Europe, office workers also regard themselves as a part of it. This class or stratum embraces in Europe those whose work does not require a physical effort. but a mental one, or those who are on the margin of physical and mental work (operation of counting machines and the like).

The intelligentsia in Europe have a class-consciousness, or consciousness of a social stratum, and a status concept of superiority to manual work. A distinction should be made between intellectuals and intelligentsia. "Intellectuals" comprise a kind of still "superior" sub-stratum, a sub-class of inventors, writers, artists, and creative intellectual workers, whereas the regular "intelligentsia" apply the ideas of the "intellectuals."[10]

WHY THE INTELLIGENTSIA IS GROWING AS A CLASS

Three main developments contribute to further the rise and expansion of the new class: (1) The expanding bureaucratic state, (2) mechanization and automatization of industry, (3) discovery of new energies.

1. New economic changes all over Europe—nationalization of industry as well as expansion of social insurances and various types

---

[10] Space does not permit us to discuss further problems of definition of the intelligentsia and the new middle class have been discussed very widely, for example, by Robert Michels, Alexander Machajski, Max Nomad, Lewis Corey, the Lynd's Mills, Parsons, MacIver (problems of class and structure), Blaha, Lederer, Laurat, Deman, A. Bingham and many others.

of social services, and last, but not least, centralistic tendencies of the modern state—have contributed to a significant expansion of bureaucracy in various forms. Expansion of bureaucracy, so characteristic especially for the Soviet system, contributes to the growth of the intelligentsia. This class in Soviet Union and its satellite countries is becoming the new privileged ruling group.

Karl Kautsky observed back in the eighties the growth of this class. According to him, in Germany the number of workers grew 62%in the years 1882-1885, while the new middle class—the intelligentsia—grew 118.9%.[11] Lewis Corey, who discovered a similar phenomenon in the United States, in his admirable analysis concludes:[12] "While the working class multiplied six times (in the united States) from 1870 to 1940, the middle class as a whole multiplied eight times and the *new middle class sixteen times.*" Corey's new middle class is exactly our intelligentsia, "technical, managerial, and clerical employees." He further enumerates teachers, designers, clergymen, and a number of professions.

Even in relation to the workers, the intelligentsia form a powerful group. For the sake of simplification, we shall only compare wage-earners and salaried employees in various countries, leaving out entirely employers and independent workers, though the intelligentsia belong to this class too. Our comparison (below) is based on figures of the International Labor Office. Our source, *Annuaire des Statistiques du Travail*, defines wage-earners in general as chiefly manual workers, while salaried employees include office and other non-manual workers and workers in position of responsibility. It has to be taken into consideration that not all countries included the same occupational groups (see figures, footnote 13) and not all countries classified identically employees and wage-earners as well as managers. Nevertheless, a rough comparison shows that the U.S.A. in 1930 employed only a little over three times as many wage-earners (workers) as salaried employees—the intellectual workers, intelligentsia (public administration was not included in this statistic). Germany (1933) employed less than three times as many workers as intelligentsia (national defence and public administration included) : similarly France (1931), Bulgaria approximately four and half times as many ; Hungary almost eight times as many ; Poland about six times as many. As was said, these numbers are approximate only ; moreover, they do not include independent workers and professionals. Nevertheless, it seems to be clear that in the United States and in Europe the number of intellectual workers—intelligentsia—is roughly as high as form 1-3 to 1-7 of the total of physical workers, and it seems that agricultural countries, which is self-explanatory, have a much lower ratio of intelligentsia in relation to workers than industrial countries—a fact which still confirms our thesis.[13] In the Western European countries, the intellectuals do not play exactly the same role, and the bureaucratic apparatus is thus not expanding much. Still, new economic and social tendencies show a trend of the expansion of the intelligentsia, while the old middle class, the "bourgeoisie" is decreasing.

---

[11] Karl Kautsky. *Bernstein und das Socialdemokratische Programm*, Stuttgert, 1899, p. 130. Even a much faster growth between 1882 and 1907 was noted by Kautsky. According to his *Proletarian Revolution and its Program* (Polish edition, Warsaw), the number of intellectual workers, intellectual employees in agriculture, industry and commerce grew in Germany from 307,000 to 1.291,000, more than four times, while the number of salaried workers grew from 10,705,000 to 17,836,000, only more than half, while the number of "economically independent" remained almost the same.

[12] Lewis Corey, "The Middle Class," reprinted from the Spring issue of the *Antioch Review*, p. 4.

2. The mechanization of industry shows a continuous trend to replace simple human movement by automats. This process of automatization eliminates large numbers of unskilled workers. We work less and less with our muscles and lungs but more with our brains and nerves. Comparison of road building somewhere in the West of the United States where the whole process is almost completely mechanized, or ditch digging for irrigation in the same region, with road building in the Balkans or irrigation in Mexico will give us an ample picture of present development. In the Balkans and in Mexico we will still see long rows of laborers, working in their sweat with heavy spades, while in the United States those who operate various machines are closer to the brain and nerve work of an engineer than to the muscular work of a manual labourer. To produce such machines, however, we need a large group of trained, educated technicians ; also to operate them, to sell them, to distribute them.

---

[13] *Annuaire des Statistiques du Travail*, BIT. 1941, Montreal, 1942. Figures quoted below are extracted from tables on "Total and Gainfully Occupied Population." Because of lack of space we gave figures for only one country of agricultural character—Bulgaria.

Structure of the Gainfully Occupied Population—U.S.A.—1930

Country	Salaried Employees	Wage-Earners
a U.S.A.	7,949,455	28,269,128
a Germany (1933-after Versailles)	5,513,137	16,167,905
a France (1931)	3,024,885	9,143,545
b Bulgaria (1934)	103,779	474,718

a-industrial—*b*-occupation group.

Colin Clark, in his classic *Conditions of Economic Progress*, anticipates similarly expansion of employment in intellectual field. His analysis of income distribution and social structure shows too, that the economically advanced countries have a high proportion of population engaged, what he calls in tertiary industries (commerce, services and similar) what means in turn a high proportion of what we call "intelligentsia."

Mechanization no longer limits itself only to simple and purely physical operations. It has successfully invaded offices. Machines are taking over counting and filling, contributing further to the process of limitation of automatic efforts. In the offices, however, further mechanization contributes to employment, both of less skilled operators of various simpler machines and of the more highly skilled staff. The new Department of Agriculture's "Rapid Selector," conceived by Dr. Vannevar Bush, a filling machine combining electronic controls with micro-film, can serve here as an example of the revolution which is coming to the offices and which will affect the social composition of the office workers.[14] New automatic computing machines seem to inaugurate a basic change in office work, eliminating what we may call automatic mental effort, such as counting and recording. Professor Louis Ridenour[15] who calls these machines "mechanical brains," announces a second industrial revolution as the result of their introduction and describes them as "a new class of high speed, automatic, computing machines with rudimentary organs of memory, judgment and mathematical logic." Space and the purpose of this article do not permit me to discuss further similar influences in agriculture.

3. Past experience shows that discoveries of new energies such as electricity act as limiting factors in employment of manual workers but require many more trained technicians as well as clerical and office workers. Electric power stations, based on water power, require very few manual workers. Energy is produced by the power of water; the machines do not need workers who would operate them manually. An army of trained technicians who do not strain their muscles, but work with their brains, is needed to plan, build, and operate the machines. But an army of book-keepers, tellers, typists, managers is needed to distribute the energy and administer the distribution. Every month the whole army of office people have to prepare bills, check the books, inform the customers about new developments, encourage them to higher consumption.

---

[14] "Within its cabinet, measuring about six by eight feet on the face and less than three feet deep, are controls capable of selecting any one of 10,000,000 subjects out of haphazard documents photographed on the reels of films fed through it. Each reel may contain 500,000 pictures that pass over a selecting eye for individual re-photographing by a special camera at the rate of 60,000 pictures a minute

The 10,000,000 possible arrangements of the dots provide every conceivable combination of cross-index code for any subject ranging, in the Department of Agriculture's research, from hybrid corn to penicillin and its multiple experiments and applications." (Charles Hurd, in *New York Times*, June 23, 1949).

[15] Louis N. Ridenour, "Mechanical Brains, Announcing Second Industrial Revolution," *Fortune*, May, 1949.

Atomic discovery will produce a much wider use and distribution of energy than is now the case. Energy will become still cheaper and still more generally used. This will continue to affect the division of labor; more people will have to be employed to work with their brains and less to use their muscles. In consequence, the intelligentsia, either as a functional group, or as a class, will grow. Mechanization of industry and especially cheap energies are usually conducive to a shorter working day if processes of accumulation of capital do not interfere with those social opportunities which modern technology offers. One might mention Robert Owen's classic examples or the later experimentation of Ernst Abbe[16] in Zeiss Jena Works to show that technological advance leads normally to a shorter working day. Through a rare occurrence in history, this was achieved without a hard struggle by organized labor. Wide exploration by the International Labor Office in Geneva has shown, furthermore, that while technological advance is conducive to shorter working hours, on the other hand, a trend toward a shorter working day has its effects on technological advance.[17] This means still further consumption of energy and elimination of physical effort.

Shorter labor hours means more leisure, and more leisure may lead to a large expansion of adult education and recreational services. Recreational activities mean institution of adult education (let us hope), theatres, concert halls, may be research institutions as a leisure proposition, as well as various types of organizations for recreational activities, parks, stadiums, and similar things. All that means a higher demand on intellectual workers, teachers, artists, instructors and others.

CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

It was shown above that, among other factors, discovery of new basic energies such as the atomic will lead to the growth of the class of intellectual workers. Rise of intelligentsia in Europe will have a wide political influence. It may create an entirely new system of class division; and as class division corresponds, in certain limited sense, in Europe to political division, change in social structure may effect distribution of political power in Europe. Appearance of the intelligentsia as a new class may also be an augury of a new ruling, privileged class in Europe, where the class division has always been deeper. Such were the gloomy predictions of Alexander Machajski and his friend, Max Nomad. Similarly, James Burnham in his "Managerial Revolution" anticipated a rule of the managerial class.

---

[16] Ernst Abbe, *Sozialpolitische Schriften*, Jena.

[17] Edgard Milhaud, "La Journee de Huit Heures et ses Resoltats," Geneva, 1927.

In fact, this did actually happen in the Soviet Union where the new intelligentsia did become a privileged class. Even in democratic societies in which nationalization is making progress, fear among the workers that a new privileged class might emerge is already apparent. Also in democratic Great Britain, those fears can be noted, as for instance, in a recent publication of the Fabian Society, "Miners and the Board." Though this publication is a second-hand reporting based on replies of 88 well-informed experts who were asked to answer what the miners were thinking, it still contains information which shows the issues. Eighty-four informants reported that the miners think there are too many posts. "The majority of the men," to quote the report, "believe the stories about salaries, mansions, motor cars, etc. because they see them. . . : If the stories are not true, then it is the fault of the Board in allowing showy officials to run around the coalfields. . . ." The miner thinks, in general, according to this report, that there are too many posts and he shows a good deal of distrust of the "intellectual worker." [18] It might have been that the complaints of the miners are not justified. Moreover, we know that any factory, any mine needs its office and engineering staff. If a nationalized mine has to produce, it cannot exist without those men. Men, about whom the miners complain, might be useful and excellent experts. It is possible that the miners are entirely wrong. All that granted, it still shows the feeling, the opinions, the distinctions.

Class division, or division in social strata, is a consequence of labor division ; and division into farmers, workers and intelligentsia will remain even in nationalized systems just because of the consequences of functional, occupational distribution of employment, which in turn shapes a number of social, cultural characteristics. From the point of view of a democratic value system, as long as this relationship is not exploitative, as long as one class does not rule the other and does not exploit the other, such a distribution of social strata is not very harmful.

There is no necessity, however, that the intelligentsia in Europe must in the future turn into a new privileged and exploitative group. Lewis Corey in his instructive writings[19] gives us a plan for a co-operative system in which the intelligentsia, like all useful classes, would find their proper place in a democratic society.

---

[18] See an extensive editorial in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, May 19, 1949. I quote from this article since the original report had not reached me when I wrote this paper.

[19] "Unfinished Task," New York, 1942; "Planning without Statism," in *European Ideologies*, Philosophical Library, 1948.

CAMOENS AND THE LUSIADAS

Bailon de Sá

Professor of English Literature, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

Conceived and almost wholly written in the East, the Lusiadas, the monumental epic of Luiz de Camoens, was probably the first enduring link between the East and the West. We witness here the vivid impact of the two civilizations, which brought in its wake a great deal of good, but was not altogether immune from harm. It has, however, certainly brought about a closer contact between peoples so widely diverging in ideologies and outlook. It is necessary that this contact should continue, and wherever possible interdiffuse, if we are to achieve that unity of ideas and ideals which alone can lead the nations of the world to mutual understanding and concord.

Vasco da Gama and his torch-bearer Camoens, are indubitably, two figures, the first the very embodiment of the genius of adventure, and the other of culture and poetry, who have contributed to this happy rapprochement. It is the purpose of these lines to evoke the forgotten figure of Camoens and his epopee, the Lusiadas.

He was born in 1524, the year Vasco da Gama died, or 1525, very likely in Lisbon, though like Homer, about seven cities claim him as their son. He came of a noble but poor and untitled family. His father was a Gallic nobleman, and his mother of Celtic descent. It appears, however, that he inherited, to a very large degree, the Celtic strain. He joined the University of Coimbra, but does not appear to have taken any degree there, as he was soon banished to Lisbon because of a scandalous duel in which he got involved. Some sort of amorous adventure seems to have driven him into it. In Lisbon, however, he had an easy access to the Court circles as he could claim a noble lineage. His was at once a genial and combative nature. At the Court, where he was an assiduous attendant, he made helpful friends, but also implacable enemies. He was soon entangled in the scandals and intrigues of the Court life, and his influential rivals soon manoeuvred him out to an exile to Ribatejo. But he asked for a commutation of the sentence and joined the army in 1547. He was sent to Morocco where in a skirmish with the Moors, he lost his right eye. 1549 saw him back in Lisbon, and back again in the fatal intrigues of the Court.

This time he was implicated in a quarrel where he wounded one of the king's equerries. This brought him nine long months in the prison of Tronco. He was released from here only to join the Armada of Alvares Cabral. After a difficult voyage that lasted six months he reached Gôa in 1553. It was here that he conceived the Lusiadas. He was scarcely for a month in Gôa, when he was sent on an expedition to the Red Sea where he distinguished himself by his conspicuous bravery. The Molluccas, Ceylon, Sumatra, the Maldive islands, were places he was sent to on similar expeditions. Back in Gôa he was again immersed in the malicious plots that were his bane in Lisbon. His outspoken condemnation or the errors and abuses in the viceregal palace in Gôa, took him back to jail. He was released but only to accompany another expedition to China in 1556. He was in Macau in 1558, where it is tradition that he wrote the greater part of the Lusiadas in a grotto which, to this day, bears his name. After two years in Macau he was being brought back to Gôa, as a prisoner, accused of malversation as Commissary for the Dead and Missing in that country. But the vessel he was in, capsized at the the mouth of the river Mekong, in Cambodia. Camoens lost everything, but swimming with his right hand only, he saved his Lusiadas ! After two years in Cambodia, he returned to Gôa in 1560. Two years in jail, and he was released in 1562 after having proved his innocence. But he was soon back in prison for some debts he had incurred and could not pay off. Camoens, however, composed a small burlesque poem satirizing his creditor and sent it to the Viceroy. The latter was much amused and set him at liberty.

Camoens was now sixteen years in India, all of them spent in bitterness and strife. Disillusioned, exhausted and broken, he longed to get back to Portugal. He returned there in 1569, miserable and penniless. His only treasure, the Lusiadas. After a couple of years spent in furnishing it, he published his Magnum Opus in 1571. D. Sebastian, the then king, conceded him a miserable annual pittance of fifteen milreis ! He lived for eight years after the publication of the Lusiadas, and on the 10th of June, 1580, he died in Lisbon, "unwept, unhonoured and unsung."

* * * * *

The Lusiadas is an epic poem, in *ottava rima*, divided into ten Cantos. The first Canto opens with the argument of the epic that is unequivocally expressed in the word ". . . . *eu canto o peito ilustre* *lusitano*" (. . . . the noble Lusians' stouter breast sing I). Then follows the invocation to the Muses of Tagus, and requests Phoebus not to let its waters be inferior to those of Hippocrene. The narration begins by the description of the Council of the Gods in the Olympus, presided over by Jupiter. The latter is heard to extol the valorous qualities of the Lusian people, and shows himself favourably disposed to help them in their adventures. Then we see Vasco da Gama, in the Indian Ocean, sailing peacefully, under clear skies and still waters. They cast anchor at Mozambique. The Regent and his entourage, who are Arabs, call on them. They are welcomed by the Captain who offers them fine cloth, sweets and wine. The Arabs are very pleased and are much impressed by the equipment and the arms of the Portuguese. The Chieftain asks Vasco da Gama to take him around. The sight moves him to jealousy, but he is careful to conceal it when he leaves for the shore. But Bacchus, is at work! He comes down as an old Sheik, calls on the Regent, and tells him that the Portuguese are Christians, robbers, and therefore dangerous men! The Arabs are thus stirred and provoke the Portuguese to battle. But the superior artillery of the latter scatters and routs them. Vasco da Gama leaves Mozambique.

Canto II shows Gama in Mombasa, where, he was told in Mozambique, he would find Christians. Bacchus is already there under the guise of one. The Portuguese are very happy and mix freely with the Arabs, while the latter are scheming to destroy the fleet by setting fire to it. But Venus comes down with all her nymphs, and with the help of Jupiter, saves the fleet. Vasco da Gama leaves Mombasa and arrives at Malindi where he is received well and feasted. The king of Malindi asks Gama all about Portugal.

Canto III starts with an invocation to Calliope, the goddess of epic poetry, and Gama, after having described Europe as he knew then, begins with the history of Portugal. It runs through the whole of this canto and continues into the IV, where the great personalities of Portugal's history are depicted. The latter part of this canto describes the strange dream of D. Manuel I. He sees two old and venerable men coming out of the waters and cry, from afar, to the king:

> "Illustrious Ganges am I, whose farthest fount
> In realms celestial, heavenly heights, I trace:
> And yon stands Indus, King, who on the mount
> Which thou regardest, hath of birth his place.

Thou shalt hard warfare wage on our account;
But, still insisting every fear to face,
With ne'er seen conquests, and sans soil or stain,
The tribes thou viewest thou shalt curb and rein"

(Tr. Burton)

Incited by this dream the King calls his counsellors, and after a short deliberation, they prepare the Armada, and the expedition to India is launched.

Canto V opens with the departure of Gama from Restelo (Lisbon). Then follows the description of the different parts they touch as far as the Cape of Good Hope. Then comes the episode of Adamastor—perhaps the most extraordinary, the most genial and one of the greatest poetical creations of all times Admastor personifies the trials and perils of Navigation. As they were doubling the Cape, they see a giganict shape, disfeatured and frowning, rise in the air. It had a long and a squalic beard, cavernous eyes, a ghastly and menacing look, grisly hair stained all over with slime, coal-black lips and yellow, projecting tusks. The second Colossus of Rhodes.—In a voice like thunder, he threatens with death the Lusian sailors if they dare double the Cape, and forebodes every imaginable ill to their people. Though terrified to the marrow of his bones Vasco da Gama, makes bold and asks "Who art thou, whose immense stupendous shape is like a mighty miracle to me?" Whereupon:

"His lips and dingy orbs he wreathed and roll'd,
And with a sudden frightful wailing cry,
In slow and bitter accounts he replied
As though the question probed and galled his pride:
I am that hidden mighty Head of Land,
The Cape of Tempests fitly named by you,
Which Ptol'my, Mela, Strabo never fand,
Nor Pliny dreamt of, nor old Sages knew:
Here in South Ocean end I Africk strand,
Where my unviewed Point ye come to view,
Which to the far Antarctick Pole extendeth;
Such he your daring rashness dire offendeth."

(Tr. Burton)

Then he confides how he was jilted by Thetis and asked Doris to plead for him. And then:

"Love madden'd, moonstruck, now I fled the war,
and kindly Doris named the trysting-night;

CRCV·363

at length my lovely love I saw appear,
my winsome Thetis, in her robeless white:
Like one possest I hurried from afar
opeing mine arms to clasp the life and sprite
of this my body, and hot kisses rain
upon her cheeks, her locks, her glorious eyne.
"Ah! how it irks to tell my sad disgrace!
thinking my lover in these arms to hold,
mine arms a rugged Mountain did embrace,
yclad with bramble bush, a horrid wold:
Before this rock, upstanding face to face,
which for that angel front I did enfold,
no more was I man, no! lorn and lone
a rock, a stone, I stood before a stone."

* * * * *

* * * * *

"My flesh slow hardens into solid earth,
to rocks and horrid crags enstone my bones;
these limbs thou seest and this mighty girth,
extend where desert Ocean raves and moans:
In fine, the giant-stature of my birth
to this far Headland sprent with rocks and stones
the Gods debased; and doubling all my woes,
round me white, winsome, watery Thetis flows."

(Tr. Burton)

The apparition vanishes and the Portuguese forge uneventfully ahead. After a few more episodes of Portugal's history, Gama ends his discourse.

In Canto VI the curtain rises on the festivities of the king of Malindi, and the subsequent departure of Gama. They were sailing prosperously when Bacchus goes down to the sea, and after convoking the sea gods, machinates the destruction of the Armada. Meanwhile our navigators go merrily along, and to while away their time, busy themselves with stories. Suddenly a violent storm bursts over their heads. Venus with her nymphs comes again to their rescue, and claims the tempest. A little later they sight India.

They arrive in India. Then follows a description of the cis-gangetic plain, where "people feed on the fragrance of the finest flowers," and the land "Bengal is rich, in short, her wealth exceedeth all." At Calicut many call on them and among them a Muslim called

GS. 1603

Monsayde, who apparently knows Spanish. The latter welcomes them ashore, and entertains them. He then describes to them the land of Malabar where "Happy condition! happy humankind, who over-jealous wrongs may never brood"! Gama is received by the Zamorim. The Catual, Governor of Calicut, visits the Armada, and Gama, as he describes to him the heraldic figures on the Portuguese flag, relates the history of Portugal.

Canto VIII is chiefly the history of Portugal. The Zamorim orders the astrologers to forecast the future of the Armada. They report evil to the navigators. The Moors, instigated again by Bacchus, attempt to destroy Gama, but the latter, after a talk with the Zamorim, is allowed to depart. But the Catual, on the sly, prevents Gama from proceeding unless he gave him the goods he had brought with him.

Canto IX shows Gama on his way to Portugal. While they were on the way, Venus directs their course to an island—the Island of Venus—where the intrepid sailors and their valiant captain are to be rewarded for their labours and recompenced for their sacrifices. Then follows the description of the Island.

Canto X opens with a description of the banquet on the isle of Venus, while one of the nymphs sings and relates the principal achievements and conquests of the Portuguese. The banquet ends, and Gama is led by Thetis to a mountain whence she shows him the universe as then conceived by Ptolemy. The sailors leave the island, and arrive in Lisbon.

* * * * *

Camoens, like many an unfortunate man of genius, had his detractors. But though most of them can be ignored as being mere scurrilists, there is among them the redoubtable figure of Voltaire. But Voltaire had also been reckless in his judgement of Shakespeare and Dante and Homer. In the case of Camoens, however, though he calls the Lusiadas a farrago, owing to the unfamiliar mixture of myth and Christianity, he pays it an oblique compliment when he calls it *une nouvelle espèce d'épopée*. His admirers in France have placed him on the same pedestal as Homer and Dante. The philo-Camoens of Brazil, Spain, Italy, Germany have for him the same regard as for their own greatest poets. Dr. Johnson and Goldsmith are two great English enthusiasts. Some have called the Lusiadas the epic of the sea, others the epic of hispanic destiny. Humboldt, the naturalist, finds it more appropriate to call it the 'poem of the sea.'

The epic of the alliance of the East and the West, the epic of commerce, the epic of the construction of the new world, the epic of the progress of navigation—these are the various names by which it has been called by the foreigners. To the Portuguese, however, it is their Bible, their Gospel, their Breviary. It is to them their national epic. It was, and it is to them, the chief source whence they derived all the fervour for their political and moral resurgence They seek in it all the heroism, all the chivalry, all the high qualities of the genius of their race.

Though Camoens has been translated into almost all the European languages, yet outside Portugal he is scarcely known. He is still caviar to the general. The detractors have called him the one-eyed king of the Portuguese poets (ironically though he had lost one eye in Morocco). They have given him immotality by courtesy. They have accused him of plagiarism, and lack of orginality. Much has been made of the fact that the first verse of the Aeneid, '*Arma virumque cano*,' has a close resemblance to the first verse of the Lusiadas '*As armas e os barões assinalados*,' and a few other points of contact. But such contacts are common. It is even quite possible that he sought inspiration in Virgil, as even Dante did. Those who find, in such arguments, reason to underrate Camoens, are without doubt labouring in lamentable ignorance of the intrinsic merit of the epic. Its lyric beauty, its music, its almost infinite variety of rhythm, the clangorous cadence of its verse, its humanism, deep and comprehensive, the almost scientific precision with which he describes some natural phenomena as St. Elmo's fire, the water-spout, scurvy, etc., its high moral tone, its symbolism, are not found even in Homer and Virgil. But for all its charm and grandiloquence, for all the vast erudition, draped in the most exquisite language, the Lusiadas is still as unread as the Argonautica.

The reason I guess is in the words of Voltaire. It is a new kind of epic. It is the national epic of the Portuguese, without a doubt. But it is not only that. Its theme concerns all. It relates how, through incredible difficulties, through storms and torments, an intrepid band of sailors, led by a valiant captain, forged an enduring moral and cultural link between the East and West.

World literature has several epic poems. We have the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer. In the former the glory that was Greece and her heroes are spoken about. The latter has the wanderings and the final return of Ulysses to his faithful Penelope, as the dominant theme. The Aeneid of Virgil relates the legendary history of Rome.

The trilogy of Dante takes our breath away. There is Milton's Paradise Lost and others of the same calibre. But the Lusiadas stands alone in its conception. "Homer excels in sublimity; Virgil in purity and tenderness; Ariosto in luxuriant fancy; and Tasso in enthusiasm. Camoens combines all. The historical part of the Lusiadas rivals if not surpasses the Aeneid. While the Renaissance period failed to produce an Europe in Italy, England and France, little Portugal can point to her triumph in the noblest field of poetry. Her Epos is not only the most complete that has appeared in any modern language; it is also the first born (Burton)." It is the epic of a nation. It is real history that has taken the proportions of an epic. This fact is at once the reason why it should hold a unique place in world literature, and also why it should be relegated to oblivion. Those who hold the latter betray, however, a parochial attitude, born, very likely, of ignorance. I am inclined to attribute to the Lusiadas a whole symbolic significance, where the poet seeks anchorage to his poetical virtuosity in the history of his people. It has passages of transcendent lyric beauty, it has dazzling moments of poetical oestrum, and the fact that they are commingled with the history of his country, should not blind us to the intrinsic worth of that majestic assemblage of heroic verse. Another powerful factor that has contributed to the neglect of this great epic is the difficulty of translating Portuguese into adequate English. All the translators have missed the felicity of the language, and most show a deplorable ignorance of it, or find it difficult to render its subtleties into adequate English, which lacks the fire of the novi-latin languages.

In fine, those who would prefer the yardstick of Aristotle will find that it is, 'simple' and 'moral' and perfect in 'sentiments' and 'manners.'

EAST BENGAL REFUGEES—A STUDY IN SOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIUM

ANIL KUMAR MAJUMDAR, M. A.

These studies are based on data collected from a number of refugees stranded at Sealdah Railway station on the days of investigation. These studies were conducted on a rough sampling basis with a view to assessing the possibilities of social assimilation and adjustment. There are obvious drawbacks in such case studies from a strictly scientific point of view; nevertheless they are of use in helping us to appreciate the refugee's problem from a genuinely human aspect. The cases studied in this paper throw considerable light on the nature of the social and economic patterns of the refugee population, and they indicate the ways in which the refugees may be assimilated or adjusted to new patterns of life.

The scope of the present enquiry had to be limited to only one hundred families. The enquiry did not take account of the refugees who drove away straight from the Railway station to their respective destinations, but only stranded refugees. Though the facts collected by us fell short of statistical standard, the hope that intensive study of even a few cases might render valuable informations prompted us to undertake the study within the narrow scope. The findings should be considered as suggestive rather than definitive.

The method on the organisational side initially consisted in the fixing of a definite questionnaire. The questionnaire was tested several times and properly modified till it was finally accepted. On the basis of the questionnaire the method of spot investigation was followed for eliciting unbiased and uninfluenced opinion. A definite time of the day was fixed when the present writer personally conducted the investigations, and detailed informations, as to the composition of the families, the age group of the members, the occupation, the income patterns were sought. The effort was made to gather qualitative materials rather than quantitative, so as not to lose sight of the human aspect of the question.

For an objective understanding of the nature of refugee problem a precise and scientific definition of the term refugee is imperative.

The refugees are hardly a legal category, and as such a precise definition of the term is very difficult. For our purpose a refugee may be described as a person who has left his country of origin or of domicile due to political or communal oppressions, or threat of oppressions and of oppressions arising out of differences of race religion or political belief. According to the Institute De Droit International, the term refugee means, "any individual who as a result of political events which have occurred in the territory of the state from which he derived, has left that territory, either voluntarily or involuntarily or dwelt away from it, who has acquired no new nationality and does not enjoy the diplomatic protection of any other state." So within the present scope of our study, any individual who has left his place of residence in East Bengal, either deliberately or unavoidably due to conditions of political and economic insecurity prevailing there may be considered as a refugee.

The total number of persons covered by the hundred families investigated was 589. The average family thus consisted of 5.89 members. Generally the families were composed of father, mother and three children. Only seven families had members exceeding ten in number, and seven families having less than three members.

The reasons of exodus have been classified into different categories, such as high cost of living, threats, theft, loss of income, loss of profession, hooliganism, general insecurity, economic insecurity, etc. During first few months of partition a large number of upper class Hindus left East Bengal, and those who were forced to stay behind lost the valuable support of their better placed neighbours. Besides this at most all the Hindu government employess of East Bengal opted for West Bengal. This situation caused a serious disturbance in the occupational structure of the population. The new avenues of employment and occupation were almost all thrown open to the Muslims, to the exclusion of the Hindus. The restricted trade and commerce between the two dominions, high cost of living, is also responsible for the plight of the Hindus from East Bengal.

In so far as our present case study goes, Barisal, Noakhali, Faridpur, and Tipperah are the four important localities from which heavy outflow of refugees took place. 26% of the refugees came from Barisal, 26% from Noakhali, 22% from Faridpur, 22% from Tipperah, 2% from Chittagong, 1% from Dacca, and 1% from Khulna. The low percentage of refugees from Dacca and some other districts might be due to the limited scope of our enquiry.

The occupational structure has been sought to be estimated from the diverse cases by grouping certain allied occupations together for purposes of classification on a broad basis. Broadly the occupations have been classified into :—(1) Businessmen, *i.e.*, all who are traders, shopkeepers, middlemen, wholesalers, retailers, etc. (2) Artisan, *i.e.*, all those who follow a craft, *e.g.*, goldsmith, silversmith weaver, potter, ironsmith, etc. (3) Professional classes, *i.e.*, teachers, doctors, pleaders, muktears, priests, etc. (4) Primary producers, *i.e* , cultivators, hired labourers, tillers of the soils, etc. (5) Non-producing classes, *i.e.*, Landholders, moneylenders, talukdars, jotdars, etc. (6) Miscellaneous. It would appear that more than 55% of the refugees families examined by us had some sort of business, on which their economic solvency depended. Artisans constituted 8%, Professional classes 9%, Primary producers 15%, Non-producing classes 6%, and persons following miscellaneous occupation constituted only 7%.

The general economic condition of the refugees will be apparent from the income patterns, which show that more than 40% of the refugees belong to the income group between Rs. 0-75. Only 8% belong to the income group Rs. 0-25, while 9% to the income group between Rs. 200-Rs. 300

INCOME GROUP OF 100 FAMILIES

Income per month	percentage
0-25	8%
25-50	20%
50-75	20%
75-100	16%
100-150	14%
150-200	13%
200-300	9%
Total	100%

From the sociological point of view classification of population by age is of considerable importance. The age distribution of the cases studied might render valuable information, with regard to the impact of the refugee population, on the existing age distribution in West Bengal. The age composition will be evidenced by the following table :—

AGE GROUP OF 100 FAMILIES

Age group	Numbers	P.C. to Total
0-10	180	30.5%
10-20	110	18.7%
20-30	130	22.0%
30-40	88	14.9%
40-50	47	7.9%
50-up	34	6.0%
Total	589	100%

As 30. 5% of the population is between ages 0-10, and 6% between the ages 50-up, it is obvious that 36·5% of the population fall within the category of dependents. On the otherhand large percentage of population is in the mature and vigourous period of life, and they would add to the dynamic qualities of the native population, and will stimulate greater productivity. Economically such a population is most fruitful. Considering working age of the population, between 10-50, we find that 63.5% of the population is in mature vigourous and workable period of life.

The sex composition of the population has vital implications on the economic life of the community. Besides, the proportion of sexes constitutes one of the foundations of morality. If the ratio between the two sexes is disturbed to any preponderent degree, there is every possibility of a. disequilibrium in the socio-biological economy. An excess of males, may lead to vices and immorality, by stimulating prostitution in some form or other, which may ultimately prove to be a great socio-economic disadvantage. Again excess of females encourage promiscuity, and deprives the females of settled home life. In certain cases it might also affect the economic status of the males by placing females as competitors in the field of occupation.

SEX COMPOSITION OF 100 FAMILIES

Persons	Number	P.C. to total
Male adult	164	27.8%
Female adult	197	33.4%
Child male	123	21.0%
Child female	105	17.8%
Total	589	100%

The total percentage of female is therefore 51.2%, and of male 48.2%. On the whole the ratio is undisturbed by preponderance of either males or females.

From a study of the limited number of cases, and data collected on the basis of it, we find that the refugee movement from East Bengal to West Bengal has far-reaching effects and implications. Hitherto Bengal as a whole had two natural regions, East and West, each exhibiting a somewhat different socio-cultural pattern. This was partly due to the physical and geographical set up of the two parts of Bengal. The process of acculturation and miscegenation, which had been to some extent taking place, with the development of communication facilities, has on the one hand received a set back due to partition, on the other hand the compulsory nature of the large scale refugee movement has introduced new factors making for quickened pace of assimilation of the refugees with the people of West Bengal.

Apart from its purely demographic effects, the largescale and persistent movement of the refugees with their varying and economic and cultural patterns may if properly handled lead to a higher creative synthesis. If badly handled it may turn out to be a source of constant social friction and irritation leading to subversive or disruptive tendencies in the body politic.

In certain quarters there has been the presumption, that this influx might produce a destructive and subversive effect in the economic life of West Bengal, because necessity knows no law, and hungry mouths and a desperate future are hardly conducive to rational conduct. But from the cases studied, we can reasonably conclude that social disequilibrium in West Bengal, is likely to be a temporary phase, and after long period of progressive assimilation and adjustment much of these disruptive manifestations will disappear.

The phenomena of individual fleeing from one country to another is not new in human history. In each age we have records of such movements of population fromone country to another. The uniqueness of the present refugee movemnt is to be found in its magnitude and consequent far-reaching social and political implications.

However groups fleeing from persecution and settling themselves in other countries have often proved to be great assets to the countries where they have settled. The foundations of American nationhood were laid by the people who had gone there to save themselves from oppressions and persecutions. The Puritans, Hugenots, the Scottish,

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. CALCUTTA CENTRAL

the Irish, the Spanish Portuguese, the Jews, who were among the earliest settlers, were all refugees. The refugee movement from East Bengal as well as from West Punjab has to be accepted as the inevitable consequence of partition on a religious basis. What we need at the present moment is an ungrudging and objective acceptance of the situation, and the putting into immediate effect sound schemes of rehabilitation for readjusting the uprooted population of East Bengal.

THE POPULATION CENSUS OF 1951

S. R. BOSE, M.A. (CAL.), B.Sc. (ECON.) (LONDON)

Director of the Central Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Patna

The date of the next population census, which in normal course should be held sometime between 15th of February and 15th of March, 1951, is fast approaching. This will be the 7th regular census to be held in India, the first one having been held in 1881. The last census of 1941 was held during the World War and although information was collected on all the usual matters—in fact the number of questions put to a house-holder increased from 18 in 1931 to 22 in 1941—yet due to the war-time exigency the tabulation of the information collected was severely curtailed and many tables were compiled only on a sample basis. The 1951 Census will, therefore, have to make good the lack of information which characterised the reports of the last census. Moreover, it will be the first census in independent India—a divided India which has witnessed the carving out of a new State, the integration of many of the old States with the Indian provinces and a mass movement of population on a scale unprecedented in history. Owing to these changes the comparability of the 1951 figures with the figures of previous censuses will be lost to a great extent. With the departure of the British Civil Servants from India, the country has been suffering from a dearth of experienced administrative officers to whom the highly technical task of conducting the census can be entrusted, and every attempt should be made to see that the standard which has been maintained by the census reports in the past does not deteriorate.

The legal sanction behind the census is provided by a Census Act which is usually passed a couple of years before a census is taken. Inspite of the recommendations of the Census Commissioners of the last two censuses, the Census Act has not been made a permanent Act although a permanent Act need not make the taking of a decennial census compulsory but only permissive. The Census Act makes refusal to answer questions of the enumerators a penal offence and empowers the District Officers to appoint enumerators and supervisors for census work although no one can be compelled under the Act to accept appointment as an enumerator or Census Officer. This is said to be a shortcoming of the Act specially as the Indian Census has to depend so largely on the unpaid work of a large body of persons. In the Western Countries the modus operendi of the census is to leave blank forms with every house-holder whose duty it is to fill up the form and return it to the Census office. This method is not available in India, mainly because of the general illiteracy of our people; and we have to depend on enumerators who visit every house-holder and fill up the form themselves after questioning the householder; and in a vast country like India the number of enumerators required for this work must be very large as is apparent from the fact that in Bihar, inspite of the considerable reduction in the number of enumerators made possible during the last census by the abandonment of the one-night theory of taking the census, their number amounted to 102,855 enumerators and 8,450 supervisors. If under the circumstances the cost has not proved prohibitive—it was only Rs. 4-4-0 per 1,000 persons enumerated in 1941—it is due to the fact that not only are the enumerators required to give their labour free but also to provide rough paper, pencils, pen and ink and also the tar or ochre with which house numbering is done. Though the system has worked so far, yet a feeling of growing resentment has been noticed among the enumerators who are coming to regard the work as a kind of forced labour which is both illegal and obsolete. The Bihar Census Superintendent of 1941 thus expressed himself on the subject: "The mobilisation of the conscript army proved a nuisance and an anxiety. The majority of enumerators did not accept appointment willingly and did their utmost to avoid selection. Petitions of appeal were common, while many enumerators had to be cajoled or bullied before commencing work. In certain subdivisions, the prosecution of certain individuals for refusing to work as enumerators even proved necessary. If the census is to continue, it seems clear that the basis on which enumerators and supervisors are appointed urgently needs revision." With the attainment of political independence, it will be much more difficult now to resist the claim of the enumerators and supervisors for some compensation for the work they are called upon to do. It has been estimated that even if the enumerators are paid a lump sum reward of Rs. 20 and the supervisors Rs. 50, it will cost the Bihar Government about 30 lakhs of rupees. Even if the census can be carried out with the help of the Karmacharis now functioning in connection with revenue and crop statistics work and the literate village chowkidars, there is bound to be demand for some special pay for this extra. It is doubtful if the difficulty will be entirely overcome even if the Census Act to be passed for the 1951 Census contains a clause legalising compulsion. It is interesting to note that the Census Act has not uptil now required every person to remain indoors even on the census night until the census enumerator has visited him.

One fundamental respect in which the 1941 Census differed from the earlier censuses is that at this census we changed over from the recording of de facto population to the de jure population, that is to say, instead of recording all the persons found within any premises on the census night, persons were recorded at their normal place of residence, *i.e.*, at the house or room which was used or intended to be used by them for sleeping purposes over a period of three months or more. In the words of the Census Commissioner "the objective of the 1941 Census could be summed up therefore as to make a record of the population as far as possible at their normal place of residence and related to sunrise on 1st March, 1941." In actual fact, however, there was only a compromise between the de facto and the de jure principles, since the standard instruction issued was that a person enumerated at one place who subsequently departed should not be struck off unless he would not be back by the 1st March, 1941. The preliminary enumeration work took about ten days which was followed by a subsequent round of visit to provide for births and deaths which had occurred between the enumerator's previous visit and 1st March, 1941. A simultaneous count on the census night (1st March, 1941) was made only of the floating population, *i.e.* those in hotels and caravanserais, vagabonds, sadhus, boat dwellers, etc. Census on the de facto principle is carried out in the United Kingdom and most other European countries, while the de jure principle is followed in the United States of America, Japan, etc. There are advantages and disadvantages of both the systems. The de jure system has the great merit that it relieves the strain on the enumerators who are not called upon to complete the count in the course of seven hours (7 P.M. to midnight) on the census night. It, therefore, enables the census work to be done with the help of a much smaller number of enumerators since the size of the blocks entrusted to each enumerator may be enlarged and they may take their work, which has so far been unpaid, more leisurely. The chances of misrepresentation by householders for communal or other considerations are also minimised, since it would be more difficult to inflate the population on the plea of a sudden influx of visitors on the census night. Further, a record of de facto population suffers from the defect that it inflates the population of health resorts, places of pilgrimage, etc. and deflates the population of big cities like Calcutta and Bombay where the resident night population is very much smaller than the working day population. The de facto principle, however, has the great merit of certainty and completeness, the enumerator knows exactly the number of persons present at any spot on the census night and records them. The Census Commissioner (1941) is not inclined to give much importance to considerations which may slightly increase the accuracy of the figures, as he says that inciting the population of provinces mention should only be made in millions, as the units figure lose all significance by the mere occurrence of vital events over the great stretches of the country within five minutes of the count, and the tens and hundreds lose their significance within a month. I am, however, not inclined to brush aside questions of accuracy so lightly on the ground that they do not matter. Under the de jure system the chances of omission and double recording are much greater. From the statistical point of view the recording of de facto population combined, as in the United Kingdom, with a record of the workplace of each employed person, would seem to be better. But the overriding consideration of finance may tip the scale in favour of the de jure principle.

The purpose of the census is to elicit information on certain matters from the people at large. The tendency is to burden the census with the collection of more and more information. The limitations of the census staff and of the single night census method must be clearly realised. The questions put must be simple enough to be understood by the enumerator and the householder, and capable of simple answers, if possible, by a simple "yes" or "no" or a simple number. Since the same questions are to be put to all persons in the province, if not in the whole of India, questions of local interest only should be avoided. It is also desirable to avoid questions bearing on important political issues on which strong passions are likely to be roused, as it would lead to the giving of incorrect answers. Even now perhaps more questions are asked at the Indian Census than in the United Kingdom. The Census Superintendents of Sind and North Western Frontier Province strongly stressed at the last Census the need of reducing the number of questions asked at the Indian Census. Some changes in the questions asked were made in the last census. Thus, questions on infirmity (blindness, leprosy, etc.) were omitted altogether, while questions were asked for the first time on fertility of women, *i.e.*, the age of the mother at the time of the first childbirth, the number of children born, etc. Questions were asked on the following matters at the last census :—

1. Name, (2) Sex, (3 & 4) Communities, (5) Civil condition, (6) age, (7) age of mother at birth of first child, (8) dependency, (9) means of livlihood of the person on whom dependent, (10) whether paid assistants or members of the family were employed by the person enumerated, (11 & 12) unemployment, (13) means of livlihood, (14) business of the employer in the case of a person in employment, (15) birth-place, (16) mother tongue, (17) subsidiary language, (18) literacy, (19) standard of education, (20) literacy in English. The old heading of "Religion" has been replaced by "community" under which enquiries were made about "race", "tribe" or "caste". But caste figures were not tabulated unless caste organisation desired it and were willing to pay for the cost of tabulation and printing. At the last census nine such castes in Bihar deposited money to have the caste figures tabulated. I think the only question asked on dependency should be "Do you work for money wages"? as the question on partial dependency is difficult to answer and may give rise to incorrect figures. The question rearding the means of livelihood of the person on whom dependent hardly serves any useful purpose and may be o-itted. I do not think we can get reliable figures on unemployment and the question may be dropped. I am also of opinion that the questions on subsidiary language, standard of education and literacy in English are not of much practical importance and may without much harm be dropped. The important problems which face the country on the eve of the census do, however, to some extent, determine the information to be collected at the forthcoming census. Our most important problems during the last few years have been the vast migrations of population between India and Pakistan and between some of the Indian States such as Hyderabad and Kashmir and the Indian Provinces; food shortage in the country and the rationing of food; and the chronic scarcity of houses in the post-war period. Moreover, we have always suffered from paucity of statistics regarding cottage industries and the unreliability of our vital statistics. What can the census of 1951 do in throwing more light on these problems? As regards territorial migrations of population, the record of birthplace might be expected to throw considerable light on this subject. If necessary, however, a question such as "Are you a post-1946 immigrant from Pakistan?" may be added. As regards food shortage and rationing, the growth of population in the urban areas and in the country as a whole will be revealed by the existing questionnaire. Moreover, an agricultural census sponsored by the F. A. O. and the U. N. O. is likely to be conducted in India in 1950.

As to shortage of housing accommodation, I agree with the recommendation of the Census Superintendent of the Central Provinces (1941) that the head of the family should be asked (a) how many living rooms there are in the house occupied by him, (b) whether he is the owner of the house or a tenant thereof and (c) his relationship with other members of the family. An attempt was made at the last census by means of question No. 11 (Do you employ (a) paid assistants, (b) members of your household? If so, how many), combined with questions 14 and 16 (the difference in figures giving the number of self-employed persons), to elicit information about the extent of persons employed in the cottage industries. I think questions 11, 14 and 16 should be allowed to remain at the next census. It is well-known that our agency for the collection of vital statistics is unreliable and this deficiency should to some extent be made good through information gathered at the time of the last census. Questions (No. 8) were then asked about the age of the mother at the birth of her first child, the number of children born and the number surviving. These give important clues to the fertility and barrenness of Indian women with the reservation that the ages given in India are not very reliable and the method of correction by grouping ages would not be applicable in this case. I should, however, like that the number of multiple births (twins, triplets, etc.) should also be recorded. Though I would not like to burden the census with further questions, it may be mentioned that the number of questions that may safely be asked would depend partly on whether the enumerators are to be paid or not, and partly, on whether the one-night census theory is to be completely abandoned. An interesting suggestion made by the Census Superintendent of Madras (1941) is worth quoting here. He says: "Only such of the simplest information as is absolutely essential from the practical point of view should be collected on a universal basis, while the more detailed and complicated studies should be made on regional sample basis." Provided the Provincial Government is prepared to pay for the cost, the census agency can be utilised to a greater extent than has been done in the past, to elicit information on local problems, specially on a sample basis.

The question has been discussed whether the census should be made a provincial subject, or at least the responsibility (along with the cost it may involve) for the enumeration work (as distinct from direction and tabulation) should be laid on the provincial Government. It may be pointed out in this connection that census is a Central or Federal subject in most countries and the remarks of the Census

Superintendent of the Central Provinces (1941) is worth consideration in this connection. He wrote: "In any case this census has shown quite clearly that if left to provincial governments as a provincial subject, there is a great danger of the census being made use of to serve political and communal purposes ; and I am, therefore, emphatically of the opinion that the census should not be made a provincial subject.[2]"

It has been urged by the Census Commissioners and Census Superintendents at successive censuses that some permanent organisation should be set up to facilitate and improve census operations. The Census Superintendent of 1941 remarked: "I have proposed elsewhere and more than once that some provision should at least be made for continuity in census matters during between-census years." The Bihar Census Superintendents (1941) reported "If there is to be any radical improvement, it can only come through the census being made to some degree permanent, to some degree a part of the ordinary normal annual administration of the province." Competent economists and statisticians like Messrs. Bowley and Robertson have said in their Scheme for an Economic Census of India: "In India, as in America, the machinery of the population census is organised hastily before the census and disbanded after the publication is complete. A new Commissioner is appointed for each occasion, who can only profit by the experience of his predecessors so far as their published reports or any special memoranda left behind by them enable him to do so, and who has no time to organise any far-reaching improvement. This subordinate staff is for the most part inexperienced in the work, which is in fact of a highly specialised character." While suggesting the maintenance of a small permanent organisation for keeping up continuity between censuses, they recommended that "while the main census of population continues to be decennial, a supplementary census with an abbreviated schedule of enquiries, mainly devoted to members, age, sex and occupation should be taken in the middle of the decennium." This permanent organisation which should be maintained for the purpose of the census, should function under the Director of Statistics who should be responsible for conducting the census. The Economic Enquiry Committee, 1925 had also suggested that there should be a Central Bureau of Statistics under a Director of Statistics and that "the Director should be able, in addition (to his other duties) to work as a Census Commissioner for the decennial population census." Now that most of the provinces have set up their own Central Bureaus of Economics and Statistics under

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

IV

The association of the Early Aryans with any great sheet of water may or may not be true, but it is almost certain that, when they came to India they were gradually acquainted with the great rivers of Afghānisthan, the Punjab and also probably Kāshmīr including the Ganges and the Yamuna of the more eastern regions of the country. Thus, in the Ṛgveda we find mention of the rivers Kubhā (Kabul), Suvāstu (Swat), Mehatnu, Krumu (Kurram), Gomati (Gumal), Sindhu (Indus), Sushoma (Sohan), Ārjikiyā (Kānsi?), Vitastā (Jhelum), Asikni (Chenab), Parusni (Ravi), Vipasa (Bias), Satadru (Sutlej), Marudvṛdhā (Maruwardhan in Kāshmīr?), the Gaṅgā (the Ganges), the Jāhnavi (the Jumna) and the Sarayū.

In the story of Sudasa's victory over the Ten kings (of the Yadu, Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvasu, Alina, Paktha, Śiva, Bhalanas and Visanin tribes) probably we have a faint hint of the river warfare. It is told that the Ten kings were defeated due to the rise of the river Paruṣṇī[1] which drowned their men. However, this is quite conjectural and it may invite serious criticism.

Although the Aryans in India were at first a pastoral people, some of their sections in course of time were not lazy to turn gradually into navigators. The change was perhaps due to the great rivers of the Punjab, upon the banks of which they developed their culture. In this connection it is better to remember the following words of Elliot Smith (The Origin of Civilisation, p. 98) which explain the real cause of the rise of the Egyptian race as brilliant mariners in the remote past "....... the fact that Egypt was a settlement on the banks of a great river made it incumbent upon the inhabitants of the country to employ boats to maintain communication between the two banks. Moreover, it must be remembered that the great river was the great highway which linked together the village communities scattered along its course and which served to weld them into a unified state. The diffusion of culture within the different parts of Egypt itself was accomplished by means of navigation." Similar was the case with the Vedic Aryans who lived in the vallies of he Indus and her affluents. The "Nadī-Stutis" (10-75) clearly show that how the Vedic Aryans were acquainted with the river-systems of the North India. Maxmüller observes, the poet "calls them, three great armies of river—those joining it from the North-West; and in the distance, the Ganges and the Yumuna with their tributaries. I call a man who for the first time could see those marching armies of rivers, a poet."[1] Although, whether the Vedic Aryans were fully acquainted with the sea may be a debatable point,[2] we cannot probably ignore the fact that in the period of the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist Sutras they were definitely introduced with the sea. During this time "Aryan civilisation had spread as far as the Arabian Sea and we hear for the first time of western realms of mixed origin (Sankirṇa Yonayaḥ) like Avanti, Surāṣṭra, Sindhu and Śauvīra . . . . . the western and eastern sea-boards were thoroughly explored. On the west coast rose the great ports of Bharukaccha and Surpāraka, while the vast region between the Amarkaṇṭaka range and the Bay of Bengal rapidly developed into the populous kingdom of Kaliṅga."[3]

---

[1] Kieth and Macdonnel identify the stream with Ravi; "Vedic Index" vol. 1, p. 499. According to Hopkins (India, old and new, p. 52) Jamunā is Paruṣṇi. According to Geldner (Ṛgveda Glossary, p. 106) Paruṣṇi is a tributary of Jumna.

That these Śauvīras were a great maritime people is very probably attested by the Bible. It is known from the Sacred Text[4] that, king Solomon in the tenth century B.C. carried on extensive trade with Ophir or Sophir with the help of the Phoenicians. Now, this Biblical Eldorado has been identified by many scholars with ‘Sauvira" which was situated in the western part of the Indus delta. It is told that gold-dusts were imported from the rich country. In this connection Macalister points out that Jehoshafat essaying to send to Ophir lost his ships. However, according to the scholar the legendary country is to be traced somewhere in South-East Arabia. If Ophir or Sophir should be identified with Indian Sauvira, we should understand what a brisk maritime trade India maintained with Ezien-Geber in the Red Sea and the ports of Phoenicia [1] in the Pre-Historic days.

---

[1] The Ganges and the Jumna are only named in the hymn, no mention being made of their tributaries.

[2] Abinash Das, "Ṛgvedic India" vol. 1. About this point we have discussed before.

[3] Ray Chaudhuri, "Studies in Indian Antiquity," pp. 57-58.

Dictionary of the Bible, Edited by James Hastings, p. 669. Some scholars think that the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe in Mashonaland in Africa are the traces of the once-populated city of Ophir. On the other hand few historians hold that Ophir or Sophir should be better identified either with Surparaka (Pāli, Suppāraka, modern Sopārā in the Bombay Presidency) or with mount Ophir of Johore in the Malay peninsula.

The Śauvīra theory is very tempting as the Indus delta probably yielded much gold-dusts in the ancient days. The Periplus refers to the gulf of Eirinon (Hiraṇya, *i.e.*, gold) which is as the scholars hold at present, the gulf of Cutch.

In this period the important ports of Bharukaccha (Broach), Hastakabakra (mod. Hāthāb in the Bhownagar state in Gujrāṭ), Surpāraka (mod. Sopārā in the west coast of India) etc. rose on the western sea-board of India. These ports not only sent ships full of cargoes to the distant lands across the seas, but also facilitated the Aryo-Dravidian intercourse between the Northern and the Southern India.

---

[1] For the Phoenician trade, see Cunningham, "The coins of ancient India." According to the scholar the Phoenicians obtained gold-dust of Ophir (identified by him with Sauvira) in exchange of the silver-plates of Tarshish.

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN U. P.

II

ITS ORGANISATION

NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.
Department of Political Science, Calcutta University.

We have discussed in the previous article on this subject the past history of village panchayats in U.P. and the procedure adopted in introducing the Gaon Sabhas under the Act of 1947. In the present paper an attempt will be made to discuss the constitutional set-up of these bodies. It should be repeated here that each Gaon Sabha which is a "body corporate" having the right to acquire, hold, administer and transfer property [1] is to have in its organisation five factors, *e.g.*, the Gaon Sabha, the Gaon Panchayat, Panchayat Committees, the Pradhan and Up-Pradhan and finally the Secretary and his staff.

The Gaon Sabha consists of all the adults of 21 years of age and above permanently residing in the area which is included in that unit. Those who are of unsound mind, are undischarged insolvent, are servants of the Government or local authority, are honorary magistrates serving in that area, have been convicted of an election offence or have been convicted of an offence involving moral turpitude, are alone debarred from membership.[2] The names of adults who are members of the Gaon Sabha are included in part II of the register, which is prepared and annually revised on the responsibility of the Subdivisional Magistrate and for whose safe custody the Gaon Sabha itself is responsible.[3]

The total number of adults in the whole province is 2,702,0790 and the total number of Gaon Sabhas is about 35,000. Consequently the average number of members of a Gaon Sabha is about 770. Actually there are many Gaon Sabhas with a total population of only about 1,000. The members of these bodies in these units would not, therefore, exceed 500 or 600. But there are some Sabhas with a far larger membership on its register. In any event all Gaon Sabhas are large bodies. The members have had in the vast majority of cases no previous experience of being associated with any organisation, public or private. What is more most of them have had no schooling of any kind. It was, therefore, an act of faith on the part of the Provincial Government to include them in the membership of the Gaon Sabhas and entrust to them not only the responsibility of electing the President (Pradhan) and Vice-President (Up-Pradhan) of these Sabhas and the members of the executive committees called the Panchayats but also the important responsibility of carrying out by themselves as Gaon Sabhas some of the basic functions of village government.

---

[1] Section 4 of Panchayat Raj Act.

[2] Section 5.

[3] Section 9 and Order No. 4913-PRD—22-48. Also Rule 3 (4).

In regard to elections referred to above the Gaon Sabhas as a whole are not necessarily to meet. Different polling centres are selected and there the adults of the area round about are collected and their votes taken by show of hands. For Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship of the Gaon Sabha these votes taken at different polling centres are added by the Returning Officer and the results declared by him. For elections to the Panchayat also the unit may be divided into wards if more than one village constitute the unit.[3a] Actually for purposes of such election in 1949 there were 70,292 wards for 34,755 Gaon Sabhas. The important fact to be remembered in connection with this election is that though the village adults were mostly illiterates, they showed considerable enthusiasm in exercising the civic privilege which had been conferred upon them. The faith in their innate capacity for self-government was not belied. First, few seats went uncontested. The number of members to be elected to the Panchayats alone was near about a million and a half. But we have been told that only about 20,000 seats in different elections were filled without a contest. This compares very favourably with the elections to the rural bodies in England where not only most seats are filled as a rule without any contest but what is more sometimes candidates are not even available for filling a seat.[4]

The proportion of voters attending the polling centres to exercise their franchise has not been recorded but we are told that in this regard also there was reason for great satisfaction. It should be remembered in this connection that voters entitled to elect the members of the Panchayat and office-bearers include women who in fact fill half the register. In view of this, there might be apprehension that many of the eligible adults would not exercise their franchise. But political consciousness among women has considerably been stimulated in recent years. The part they had taken in political movements since 1920 was an indication of that consciousness. In the Panchayat Raj elections also they did not lag behind men. They not only cast their votes but what is more many of them stood as candidates and, as it will be evident presently, were elected in good number in one or another capacity.

[3a] Section 12 (4). It is the responsibility of the Subdivisional Magistrate to demarcate constituencies.

[4] E. L. Hasluck—Local Government in England, pp. 40, 47.

Under the Act the Gaon Sabha is to meet as an organised assembly at least twice a year. One is known as the Kharif session held immediately after the harvesting of the Kharif crop and the other is called the Rabi session held immediately after the harvesting of Rabi crop. Besdies these two sessions, other extraordinary meetings of the Gaon Sabha may also be called either on the requisition of one-fifth of the total number of members or on the initiative of the President himself.[5] These general meetings of the Gaon Sabhas are held in the open, usually under the shade of a tree, and have the appearance of informal gatherings. Actually, however, these meetings are strictly formal and the President of the Gaon Sabha or in his absence the Vice-President presides over them. In the Kharif session the budget which has been framed and considered by the Panchayat comes in for discussion and adoption. In the Rabi session the chief item of business under the statute is the consideration of the accounts of the previous year. In both meetings there is also an opportunity of further deliberation on different items of work. The statute lays down that in both these sessions "the Gaon Sabha shall consider the biennial reports of business submitted by the President."[6] It is yet too early to say as to how these village assemblies of six or seven hundred people—men and women—may acquit themselves in the discharge of these important responsibilities. To pass the budget and scrutinise the accounts involve intellectual efforts which we do not ordinarily expect of the unlettered and unsophisticated rustics. To exercise supervision by the expression of opinion on the general items of business as submitted by the President also involves power of appreciation not only of the needs of the village but of the flaws in the activities of the executive, which may be thought to be beyond village people. They are not, however, as ignorant as they are supposed to be. Their shrewdness may easily be testified to by people who watch them at close quarters in the law courts and other places of business. Most of them hold land and have dealings with local officials and zamindar's agents. Consequently problems of budgeting come rather easy to them.

---

[5] Section II (1) Proviso.
[6] Section 13.

In fact the few local officials whom the present writer had opportunity of consulting held very optimistic views as to the amount of interest which the ordinary members of the Gaon Sabhas are now taking both in the local elections and in the actual work of the Sabhas. Many appeared to have clear ideas as to what the Gaon Sabbas should undertake to do at once and the way it should be done. There was, of course, a danger in another direction. The spirit of self-assertion which members of the Gaon Sabhas have shown recently in many instances may take an ugly turn. Caste divisions are still very strict in the villages and the social barriers so created may prove a great handicap to the working of the village bodies on right lines. There was a time when people occupying lower rungs of caste hierarchy were reconciled to their humble status and hardly ever questioned the superiority of the higher castes. But this humility is a thing of the past now. Not only people of humbler castes are now asserting their rights but in so doing they are in many instances pitting themselves up against people of other castes. 19.7.50.

In spheres outside the scope of the Gaon Sabhas this spirit of antagonism has now become manifest in many places. For instance the Brahmins and some other castes might do everything in connection with the cultivation of their land but would not do the actual ploughing. Those people who did this work in the past ungrudgingly are now refusing co-operation or are offering it on terms which appear prohibitive. Similarly the khas land belonging to the zamindars was formerly cultivated by a class of tenants. The latter in many places are refusing to do it any longer or have been found willing to do it only on terms which are uneconomic. Now this spirit which has become rampant in these economic spheres is threatening to actuate policy of people of some castes in the Gaon Sabbas. The danger of canalising opinion along caste lines has become real. If Gaon Sabhas are to be the instrument of general welfare, this tendency has to be checked.

In this connection much may be done by those in charge of working out the scheme of "Education Expansion" which the Government has formulated. For the execution of this scheme an Education Expansion Officer has been appointed and he has under him a body of subordinates working in different areas. The scheme is intended not only to admit the unlettered adults to literacy but also to make their mind receptive of modern ideas and information. Already on the instructions of Panchayat Raj Directorate, the Education Expansion Officer has issued orders to his subordinates to arrange for the education of those illiterate villagers who have been elected to the Gaon Panchayats and Panchayati Adalats[7] Other adults who may not have been so elected but who are members of the Gaon Sabhas should also receive increasing attention from those in charge of education expansion. It is not enough that they should be made literate. It is necessary that new ideas should be infused into them. If for about six months they are admitted to these ideas some will certainly stick. Thereafter the Gaon Sabha itself should make arrangements for further education.

The Panchyat Raj Directorate also may stimulate it by sending out special lecturers to villages from time to time and asking its own inspectors also to speak to the village people and open out and enlarge their mind. For those again who are not adults yet and will influence the working of the Gaon Sabhas in the future, the primary schools which are being set up all over the province might become a good training ground of citizenship. It should be a duty of the teachers to inculcate in the boys and girls under their charge new anti-caste ideas. In fact it is time for the Government to accept it as a primary responsibility that caste barriers which are an impediment to democratic government should be removed. It should be kept in mind that the Gaon Sabhas are now the bed-rock of the whole system of government. They are not only to supervise, control and direct the Gaon Panchayats and make possible the proper working of the Panchayat Raj but in view of the acceptance of adult franchise for provincial and national elections under the new Constitution their members will be responsible for returning representatives to provincial and national legislatures and set thereby the tone of these assemblies. A river does not arise above its source. If the Gaon Sabhas remain assemblies of unlettered, superstitous, caste-ridden men, the assemblies higher up will not be of a better character. So let us proceed to educate our masters and that on right lines.

The Gaon Panchayat, which is not exactly the executive Committee of the Gaon Sahhas but is responsible for taking most decisions independently, is also not a very small body. The Union Boards in Bengal are small committees[8] of nine members. But the Gaon Panchayat in U. P. consists of the President and Vice-President of the Gaon Sabha and from 30 to 51 other members. The actual membership depends upon the population included within the jurisdiction of the Sabha. Where the population does not exceed one thousand, the number of members in addition to President and Vice-President is 30; if it exceeds one thousand but does not exceed two thousand it is 36, it is 39 if the population is between two thousand and three thousand, 45 if between three thousand and four thousand and 51 if it exceeds 4,000.[9] In the election of these members of the Panchayats, due regard has to be paid to the representation of minorities. In fact the Panchayat Raj Act[10] provides for the reservation of seats for the Muslims and the scheduled castes on the basis of population. But electorate is not separate but joint. At the time the Act was passed, India was still unpartitioned and undivided. The Muslim League whose influence was then considerable pinned its faith to separatist principles and consequently all members returned to the U. P. Legislature on its party ticket fought tooth and nail the provision for joint electorate and demanded not only separate seats for Muslims but wanted them to be filled also by Muslim votes alone. In the teeth of this opposition the principle of joint electorate was adopted. Now circumstances have changed. The separatist Muslims have succeeded in establishing Pakistan and Indian Muslims have accepted nationalism as their creed. It was in view of this that the Constituent Assembly has provided for straight elections to the Provincial Assemblies and the national Parliament without reservation of seats except for a temporary period for the scheduled castes. The elections to the Gaon Panchayats also should now be held on the basis of no reservation. Even for schedule castes reservation may now be abolished. It should be remembered that for Provincial Assemblies and national Parliament such reservation is meant to be only for a limited period. Now if after ten years such reservation is to be done away with, the experiment may be made in this regard from now on in the village elections.

---

[7] See Copy of Letter of Education Expansion Officer, No. 1241, Allahabad, June 12, 1949.

[8] Sec 6(1) of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act.

The members of the Panchayat are elected for a period of three years. But one-third is to retire each year and to this end after the first elections held in 1949 the Subdivisional Magistrate[11] had to declare the elections of one-third as valid for three years, of another one-third as valid for two years and of the remaining one-third as valid for one year. Usually this election by batches is provided to ensure the continuity of an institution and of the policy pursued by that institution. In the municipal councils of Britain such elections

[9] See 12(2) and Rule 8.
[10] Sections 12(6) and 12(7).
[11] Section 12(3) and Order No. 4913—PRD—22-48.

in parts have been maintained also to ensure the continuity of touch between the electors and the elected. It should, however, be borne in mind that in elections to county councils of that country no such principle is observed. No partial retirement every year is insisted on there. This is because in the rural areas disadvantages of the system outweigh the advantages. In fact there is reason to believe that the efficacy of the principle of partial retirement from time to time has been overestimated. Actually if a body has not proved very efficient or has proved corrupt, there should be opportunity for the electors to remove the whole of it at one time. Those members of it who have good work to their credit would, of course, be re-elected without difficulty and their re-election would ensure the continuance of an experienced element. In the Indian rural areas where democratic institutions have come rather new, too much of pressure which annual elections will put on the people should be avoided. It may not be to the good of a village that every year the mind of the people there should be exercised for two months over the election of ten or twelve members. It must not also be lost sight of in this connection that the position of the Gaon Panchayat is not exactly analogous to that of a borough council. In an English borough the voters may hold in check the members of the council only at the time of elections. The more frequent the elections the better the opportunity for the voters to exercise their authority and voice their point of view. In a U. P. village, however, the electors may and do meet twice or more every year in the Gaon Sabha and scrutinise there the activities of the Panchayat. In view of this it seems that some fresh thought should be given to the question of annual retirement.

The establishment of the Gaon Sabha was, we have already emphasised, an act of faith on the part of the framers of the Panchayat Raj Act. But even they could not be persuaded to make the Sabha the real pivot of the system. Subject to its approval of the budget, to its passing of the accounts and to its exercise of general supervision, the Panchayat has to undertake the main responsibility of framing policy regarding the execution of those functions which are entrusted to the Gaon Sabha by the Act. Although Section 12 of this Act declares the Panchayat as an executive committee of Gaon Sabha, it is something more than that. Its position is rather analogous in some essentials to that of the General Committee of the Calcutta Corporation as brought into being by Act 111 of 1899.[12] It may, therefore, be regarded as a co-ordinate authority to some extent and, therefore, as an anomalous body to that extent. For instance under chapter IX of the Act by-laws are to be made for better working of Gaon Sabhas—some by the Provincial Government, some by the Executive Committee of the District Board and some by the Gaon Panchayat. Such by-laws, as made by the Panchayat, are not subject to sanction by the Gaon Sabha but have to be sanctioned by the Executive Committee of the District Board. Possibly as the Gaon Sabha will gain more experience and show necessary aptitude for village administration, the character of the Panchayat will have to be changed. It may be necessary then to make it truly the executive committee of the Sabha. It is true that even now it is not possible for the Panchayat to act too independently. The President of the Gaon Sabha is, as we shall soon see, also the Chairman of the Panchayat and business is done in both institutions on his initiative.

---

[12] Report of Corporation of Calcutta Investigation Commission, Vol. 1. Paras 76 and 77.

The Panchayat is to meet at least once a month [13] and in these meetings it is to frame policies and take decisions. Such decisions must not of course involve expenditure which has not been sanctioned in the budget. But subject to that and subject to criticism in the Gaon Sabha when it would meet several months later, the Panchayats are entitled to undertake any responsibility prescribed for them by the Act. The Gaon Panchayats meet under the chairmanship of the President of the Gaon Sabha. His term of office—three years—is the same as that of any other member of the Panchayat. But independently elected, he is liable to be dismssed only by the Gaon Sabha and that also in an ordinary meeting by two-thirds majority.[14] Consequently he is not removable by the Panchayat, whose members, if displeased with his conduct, will have to persuade the Gaon Sabha to remove him by requisite majority. This comparatively independent position of the President should make work of the Panchayat smooth and efficient. In many local bodies in Bengal and elsewhere the Chairman being directly elected by the Board becomes removable by it. Votes of censure and motions for removal become a feature of local administration and hamper its proper conduct at all times. It is, of course, too early yet to say if at all ordinary meetings of the Gaon Sabha the opponents of the President in the Panchayat will not be ready with censure motions against him. But in any event that will involve delay and meanwhile the President will have opportunity of rallying his supporters.

---

[13] Rule 38.

[14] Sec. 14.

It is for the President to convene meetings of the Panchayat and, as noted above, to preside over it. In his absence the Vice-President takes the chair and in the absence of both these functionaries a member of the Panchayat nominated to this end by the President presides over the meeting of the Panchayat. The agenda are prepared by the President but any member may introduce any resolution or ask any relevant question by giving proper information to the President ten days ahead of the date of the meeting. So both the President and members have initiative in regard to items of work to be taken in hand by the Panchayat. But the burden is mainly borne by the President. Everything in fact hinges upon him.

Section 29 of the Act provides for the constitution of committees of the Panchayat with powers delegated to them. Rules framed in this regard provide that a committee is to consist of not less than five and not more than seven members. They are to hold office for one year. The Chairman of each committee is to be appointed by the Panchayat from among the members of the committee who are chosen by the Panchayat from its own membership. There is, however, this provision that one member may be co-opted by the committee from outside on the ground of his special knowledge and experience of the work with which the committee is concerned. The committee is to work under the general control of the Panchayat and decisions arrived at by the committee have to be approved of by the Panchayat.[15] So far the Panchayats have formed five or six committees on such subjects as (*i*) education, (*ii*) taxation, (*iii*) sanitation and health, (*iv*) village protection and (*v*) village development.

Chairmen of the committees are expected to be important members of the Panchayat and to have good standing in the villages included in the Gaon Sabha. But neither they nor the committees over which they preside have yet much to do with the execution of schemes approved of by the committees and the Panchayat. Under the British municipal system the committees are practically heads of departments. They not only decide upon schemes of work up to certain limits of magnitude but under their supervision and control the schemes are carried out. In the Corporation of Calcutta also the same procedure with certain variations was followed until its supersession in 1948. But in the district Municipalities, District Boards and other local bodies this has not been the tradition. In these institutions decisions arrived at by the committees and the Boards are to be carried out by the Chairman (or President) of the Boards. His is the executive responsibility. The same system is being followed in the Gaon Sabhas of U. P. as well. So all decisions of the Panchayat, however arrived at, are to be given effect to by the President. Individual members of the Panchayat have responsibility only when they attend its meetings or meetings of the committees of which they are members. But beyond that everything devolves on the shoulders of the President.

---

[15] Rules 49-53. Rule 53 lays down "Proceedings of each committee shall be read before a meeting of the Panchayat which may, for sufficient reasons to be recorded, revise any decision of a committee."

According to Rule 47 framed under the authority of the Panchayat Raj Act the President has eight different duties—(*a*) to convene and preside over meetings, (*b*) to watch over the financial and superintend the executive administration of the Panchayat, (*c*) to exercise supervision and control over the staff of the Panchayat, (*d*) to carry out the resolutions of the Panchayat, (*e*) to maintain the various registers (*e.g.*, as that of adults) and undertake correspondence on behalf of the Panchayat, (*f*) to arrange for the assessment and collection of taxes and fees, to act as custodian of the Panchayat property and see to the execution of various works undertaken by the Panchayat, (*g*) to file suits and initiate prosecutions on behalf of the Panchayat and (*h*) to perform such other duties as may be necessary. Besides these normal functions, the President is entitled to act without obtaining any sanction of the Panchayat in case an emergency arises. He is, however to place the matter in the next meeting of the Panchayat.[16] Further, by way of controlling and preventing epidemics the President may exercise all necessary powers, subject to directions and orders of the District Medical Officer of Health or of any other functionary authorised by him in this regard.[17] Some of these responsibilities the President may delegate either to the Vice-President or Secretary subject to conditions he may impose.[18]

So, it may be repeated, the President carries on his shoulders great responsibility and unless he is appropriately chosen the Panchayat Raj experiment may be a dismal failure. In the first elections held in 1949 men with proper standing and experience were in many cases elected in this capacity. The Panchayats indeed include a good proportion of illiterate men. But attempts are being made, as pointed out already, to admit them to literacy and impart to them general knowledge and information. As for Presidents and Vice-Presidents, we have seen that they have to be elected by the adults of the whole

---

[16] Rule 47 A. [17] Rule 47 B. [18] Rule 47 C.

Gaon Sabha and on that account they have to be men well known in the locality and we have no information that any illiterate or otherwise undesirable man has been chosen in either capacity. Some women also have been elected to these important positions[19] but they too have endeared themselves to the local population by their past services. In some localities zamindars with large or small income sought successfully the suffrage of their fellow citizens for election as President. It is not unlikely that here and there they have come to this crucial position in the Gaon Sabha because people could not take courage in both hands to go against their candidature and alienate them. But in other places zamindars have been elected President because they were acceptable not only as natural leaders but also because they had earned the gratitude of the villagers by their past activities. In any event none of these are incapable people. It is not easy to delve into the future. But if caste prejudices which are gaining ground and to which reference has already been made are not checked in time, it is likely that people, though illiterate and otherwise not quite competent, may, because only of their affiliation to this or that caste or group of castes, get elected as President and Vice-President. By such developments the structure of Panchayat Raj may totter and fall and the experiment may have to be abandoned. So attention should be increasingly paid to this aspect of the problem and everything should be done to bring about fusion among people of different castes.

In order that a Gaon Panchayat may work properly and the President and Vice-President may get necessary help in the discharge of their duties, Section 25 of the Panchayat Raj Act provides that the Panchayat "shall, as prescribed, appoint a Secretary" and arrange for such other staff as required with the approval and consent of the prescribed authority. So far only the Secretary has been appointed. The rules prescribed in this regard by the Provincial Government[20] have not left much latitude to the Gaon Panchayats. The rules first lay down that under the directions of the Provincial Government two or more Gaon Panchayats may have to combine to appoint one Secretary to serve the purposes of all of them. Actually one Secretary now serves not only three or more Gaon Panchayats but also the Panchayati Adalat whose jurisdiction extends over these Gaon Sabhas. A Secretary's salary is Rs. 50 per month and it might not be possible for each Gaon Panchayat to undertake this expenditure. So for the sake of economy the arrangement as noted above has been made by the Government. Secondly, the rules lay down that the Secretary must have a minimum educational qualification of having passed the Hindustani Middle Examination or any equivalent of it. Thirdly, the Government on its own account gave training in a training camp in each district to a number of candidates and the rules provide that one of these approved candidates should be selected by the Gaon Panchayats concerned on the recommendation of their Presidents and the selection so made must be confirmed by prescribed authority (in this case District Panchayat Officer). It is good that the Provincial Government laid down qualifications of those who would be appointed Secretaries. It is also good that candidates should be given training by the Government and the Gaon Panchayats asked to make their selection from the approved list. To go further than this and make selection subject to confirmation by the Panchayat Raj Officer appears to suggest too much distrust of the Panchayats. In regard to appointment of staff other than Secretary also, more latitude should be given to the Panchayats after some time.

---

[19] Actually about one thousand women were elected in differnt capacities.

[20] Rules 167 to 172.

As a provisional arrangement the Secretary may serve several Gaon Panchayats and one Panchayati Adalat at the same time. But this arrangement can only be strictly temporary. When the different Panchayats and the Adalats get into full strides, either each Panchayat will be required to have a whole-time Secretary of its own or the work which he is to perform must be entrusted to some honorary Secretary chosen from among the members of the Gaon Sabha. Possibly the Vice-President may also act as Secretary. In Bengal the Union Boards have at their disposal the services of the chowkidars and dafadars who in addition to their watch and ward duties also serve as errand boys of the President and the Board. In U.P. the Gaon Sabhas have nothing to do with the chowkidars who are maintained by the Provincial Government. But it has been arranged that within the area of a Gaon Sabha a chowkidar will be given Rs. 2 per month by the Gaon Panchayat to undertake additional duties for the Panchayat and the Adalat. This scheme is not working properly. The chowkidars not unoften take the allowance but on one pretext or another avoid the responsibilities. So sooner or later some other permanent arrangement will have to be made in this regard as well. Government involves expense. It may be avoided only to the detriment of public interest.

Round the World

Treaty to be imposed on Japan ?

The War in the Far East as in Europe was concluded in 1945 and no treaty has yet been signed with Japan. During this period of four years the country has been under military occupation of the allies. Obviously this state of things cannot go on *ad infinitum.* Some peace treaty must be signed and military occupation ended. But because of the cold war now going on between the former allies themselves even the procedure of framing a treaty could not be decided upon. The Soviet Union seems to favour the instrumentality of the Council of Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. The other allies prefer the Council of Allied Occupying powers in this regard. So a stalemate exists as in many other international concerns at the present time.

Meanwhile the Japanese Premier, Mr. Yoshida, has been compelled, evidently by General McArthur's headquarters, to withdraw a statement he made in Japanese Parliament in regard to the future Peace Treaty. He had pointed out that as it would be a treaty between Japan and other countries, she must have full liberty to accept or reject it. If it did not jeopardise Japanese interests, the Government would accept it and sign it. If, however, it was otherwise, the Government would ask its representatives to walk out of the conference and reject the proposed treaty thereby. This straightforward statement evidently appeared to be too independent for the Prime Minister of a defeated country to make and he was ordered to withdraw it which he accordingly did.

The procedure of making a treaty with a defeated nation has not been uniform. It has varied according to circumstances. In 1815 the Foreign Minister of France which was the defeated country enjoyed a position of equality with the representatives of the victorious nations at the Congress of Vienna. In fact Talleyrand was one of the big four in that assembly. This was partly due to the personality of Talleyrand and partly due to the theory that the Government he represented was not responsible for what had taken place. One century later at Paris the Peace Conference met without the representatives of the defeated Central Powers. Only after the draft treaty had been prepared after protracted deliberations among the allied delegates, it was presented to the German delegates who were not, however, admitted to the Conference table. They had to carry the draft from the other side of the barbed wire. They were given a very short time for the consideration of the draft and were practically asked almost at once to accept it. It would have been following the precedent of Versailles if in 1946 the same procedure was followed towards Japan. It is, however, one thing to impose a treaty on a defeated nation soon after victory and quite another to try to impose it after four years have elapsed since then. We believe it will be foolhardy for the allies to attempt to do anything of the kind now or later. Accept or face the consequences might be a reasonable attitude immediately after the conclusion of hostilities when bitter memories of war were still fresh and camaraderie of any kind between victors and vanquished was out of the question. But after four years the memories have become dim and Americans and Japanese are now fraternising. In view of this there is no bar to the admission of the Japanese delegates to the Conference table and once admitted they should have opportunity of full participation in its proceedings and pointing out what is in Japanese interest and what is not.

Demand for Civil Rights Laws in U. S. A.

President Truman has again in a speech reiterated his demand for the passage of civil rights laws by the Congress. It is likely that in his message to Congress in the present month he will refer to its necessity. But his appeal on this occasion may meet with the same fate as earlier. It should be remembered that at the time of election one year ago he pledged his support to such laws and since then he has tried to honour that pledge. But the Congress has turned a deaf ear to his proposals.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. A. which was adopted after the Civil War provides: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, colour or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." By different subterfuges this article remains practically unenforced in the Southern States. In respect of other important matters also the Negro citizens suffer disabilities for which they have so far asked for remedy in vain. Discrimination in matters of residence, education, recreation and employment is practised in an unabashed manner. Lynching which is a common occurence has gone in most cases unpunished. The authorities of the states are determined to maintain these inequalities and are positively unwilling to change the system. In view of this the Federal Government must step in with legislative and executive authority to do away with discrimination in matters of political and civic rights as also it must extend its long hand to punish lynching and make it costly in the future. The Democratic majority in the Congress, however, includes a large membership from the South. These Senators and Congressmen who are unwilling to vote for the laws which the President wants in this regard make common cause with the conservative Republicans and together they can vote down any such proposals. This was the situation a few months ago and this will be the state of things in January when President Truman will renew his attempts to get civil rights laws passed by the Congress. The conscience of the American people has been roused to some extent in recent decades in regard to the disabilities of the Negro citizens but it has not yet been so roused as to overwhelm the white conspiracy in the South to keep the Negroes at arm's length.

Commonwealth Organisation

The Commonwealth is today an informal entity. The relations between the different members of this body are intimate but not hidebound by rules. Information obtained by the British Foreign Office is handed over to the Dominions Office and from there immediate attention of the different Dominion Governments is drawn to it. Consultation on important questions of policy takes place between different Premiers sometimes through cables, sometimes through *ad hoc* agents and often through the medium of High Commissioners.

There was a proposal during the War that the Commonwealth should not be allowed to continue on this informal basis. The Australian Government came out with the suggestion that some central organisation on which all the Commonwealth Governments would be represented should be set up and it should be given some definite functions. The Canadian Government, however, objected to any such suggestion. Such a central organisation would be at variance with the independence of the Dominions and the status they had enjoyed for decades. The informal ties which bound these Commonwealth units were strong because they were informal. Once a hide-bound central body was created, it would make members restive and persuade some of them at least to fall off the Commonwealth.

The British Conservative Party, however, appears to be restive under the existing arrangements. Informal relationship dees not seem to appeal to it. It is making plans to set up some kind of an organisation through the medium of which the Commonwealth may manage both its inter-Dominion affairs and its relations with the other countries of the world. Mr. Gordon-Walker, the present Commonwealth Relations Under-Secretary, has in a speech condemned this attitude of the Conservative Party and asked it to drop the line of action it has planned to take.

Prohibition

A member of the Constituent Assembly drew the attention of the house sometime ago that in the East Punjab there were instances of the Prohibition enforcement staff of the police drinking the illicit liquor which they had seized. Their argument was that it was not proper to destroy a "good thing" which had come into their hands. This only illustrates the difficulty which is as a rule experienced in enforcing prohibition laws. There is no doubt about it that drink habit has destroyed peace and well-being in many households. Among the labouring classes particularly it has wrought havoc. Sights of misery which drink habit alone brought about made Gandhiji very uneasy about it and made him a convert to prohibition. In fact theoretically there are all the arguments in favour of introducing prohibition universally in the country. But the experiences which have already been gained of the working of the principle should make many people now reconsider the position. There is first the problem of the loss of revenue which may be difficult, if not impossible, to make good otherwise. This is a serious problem in these days of shrinking income. But more important still is the administrative problem. One aspect of it is financial. While the revenue that was to be drawn from excise duty on liquor would not be forthcoming, fresh expenditure must be made on maintaining a large and skilful staff to enforce prohibition. The second aspect of the problem is in regard to maintaining honesty and integrity among the officers and men of this enforcement department. Already it is taxing the energy of different Governments a good deal in reviving integrity in their servants. Prohibition only adds further to this responsibility. Besides public administration has already become of late very complicated and nothing should be done to increase this complication at this hour. Ten or fifteen years hence when things would settle down and administration would be fully stabilised, the Governments may undertake new responsibilities in the shape of prohibition. Until then it will be wise for them to abandon the schemes of enforcing total prohibition. That, however, should not mean that any encouragement would be given to the drink evil. Taxation may be made high as it already happens to be in some provinces. High cost would automatically limit drink habit. Secondly, a trained propaganda staff may be maintained by each Government to bring home to the people the evil effects of drinking. Possibly this staff may also be employed at the same time to do health propaganda and inculcate health education among them. Enforcement of prohibition has something heroic about it. Mere propaganda may appear very tame instead. But possibly in the long run the latter, if properly done, may do greater good.

First Engineering University

The name University has so far been appropriately applied only to those seats of learning which encouraged studies of all kinds. Now-a-days, however, every branch of learning has developed many sub-branches of its own. It may not be absolutely inappropriate on this account that a particular branch of study and research should be under the control and direction of a university of its own. Technical institutions have not unoften been run in western countries on an autonomous basis. Some of them have only issued certificates and diplomas but some have been allowed to confer degrees as well. The Faraday House in England and M. I. T. in U. S. A. may be cited as instances. In our own country the College of Engineering at Jadavpur has because of historical reasons never been affiliated to any University. It has been run since its inception by the National Council of Education. The Thomason College of Engineering at Roorkee has completed one hundred years of its life. During this long period it has rendered very useful service to engineering education in the country. Recently the U. P. legislature passed an act providing for the raising of the College to the status of a University. Actually on the 25th November last Pandit Nehru inaugurated this new University which would be concerned only with the development of engineering studies and research. Its progress in this field will be watched with eagerness and curiosity throughout the country. Possibly engineering studies at this University will have to be supplemented by sociological studies as well. But they will only be of an ancillary character. Let us hope that this new University by concentrating on engineering science will succeed in developing its cultivation on up-to-date lines.

The new Andhra Province

At the time of writing the Government of India has decided to separate the Telugu-speaking districts from the Province of Madras and to include them in the new Andhra Province. Prior to this the Congress Working Committee had recommended to the Government that such a province should be created.

It should be remembered in this connection that sometime before the Jaypur session of the Congress the Dar Committee to which the question of constituting linguistic provinces was referred brought out its report in which it set its face definitely against any such step. It was deliberately of opinion that linguistic provinces would create more problems than what they would solve and might become a disruptive force in the country. The demand for an Andhra province was thus set at naught. But Dr. Sitaramaya, the Andhra leader, defeated Mr. Purusottamdas Tandon in the election for the Presidentship of the Congress and had the opportunity of reopening the subject. The Jaypur Congress appointed a new highranking Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Congress President. This body found necessary arguments for the establishment of the Andhra Province, although in regard to the general principle of having linguistic provinces all over the country its position was more or less the same as that of the Dar Committee. In other words the Andhra Province is being set up as an exceptional measure.

It is, of course, true that the province of Madras as it exists today is vast, far flung and unwieldy. It is not bad on this score that the Telugu districts should be separated from it. It would lighten the burden of the Madras Government. It is, however, unlikely that the general public would look at the question from that angle. The question of constituting provinces on a linguistic basis has long been on the public platform and people everywhere would think that the new decision of the Government of India is a concession more to the linguistic principle than to administrative convenience. And if concession is made in one part of the country, the case for refusing to yield to it in other parts becomes weak.

Sometime ago an important member of the Bengal Cabinet made a plea for the inclusion in West Bengal of some of the districts and parts of districts now in the Bihar province not on linguistic but on administrative grounds. Actually administrative grounds are as valid as linguistic grounds for the transference of those areas to West Bengal. But neither the one ground nor the other has yet been accepted. We have been told *ad nauseum* that the circumstances in the country are now much too unfavourable for redistribution of territories. It has been emphasised that at the present time when one thing essential is stability the *status quo* should not be disturbed. But the *status quo* is being disturbed elsewhere. We believe that the same principle should be followed everywhere.

Admission of new members to the United Nations

Of the many applications for membership of the United Nations which were submitted after the establishment of this body several have been turned down. Some of these applications have been rejected because of the opposition of the group headed by Britain and the U. S. A. and many more have been rejected because of the opposition of the U. S. S. R. and its friends. The latter include the applications of such countries as Ceylon, Nepal, South Korea, and Portugal.

Article 4 of the United Nations Charter lays down the procedure of admitting new members. It provides that only "peace-loving states" willing to carry out the obligations "contained in the charter" will be eligible for membership. The application for admission is to be accepted or rejected by the General Assembly "upon the recommendation of the Security Council." Now the Security Council may be said to be in favour of any application only when all the five permanent members and two other members supported it. If any permanent member turns against it, the decision of the Council becomes adverse. It is in this fashion that the applications have been rejected in most instances.

Now an interesting question has been raised. It has been pointed out by some that the Charter has left the decision in this regard to the General Assembly but the latter is to act on the recommendation of the Security Council. Does it mean that the General Assembly cannot decide in favour of any application if the recommendation of the Security Council is adverse? There is nothing in the Charter to show that the recommendation of the Council should necessarily be favourable in order that the assembly might accept an application. This is a moot point and the Assembly has decided by forty-two votes by nine (with six abstentions) that the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice. It is too early to anticipate the decision of this Court. But the language of the Charter seems to be clear. "Upon the recommendation of the Security Council" should mean "upon the favourable recommendation." The provision, if possible, should be amended. But it is unlikely that the International Court of Justice would allow it to be bypassed.

Amendment of B. N. A. Act

The Statute of Westminster, 1931, made the Dominions autonomous and independent. But in regard to the amendment of the British North America Act which enshrined the constitution of Canada, the Canadians themselves decided to leave the formal jurisdiction to the British Parliament. The fact is that about this time there were grave differences of opinion in Canada as to the procedure which might be followed in regard to constitutional amendment. The British North America Act had previously been amended and modified on several occasions by the British Parliament and mostly on the advice of the Dominion Parliament. But it was pointed out now that the Constitution provided for the distribution of powers between the federation and the provinces and as such it embodied a compact between the units as to the amount of authority and extent of jurisdiction which the Dominion Government would be allowed to exercise. This compact could not be modified without the consent of all the parties. In other words the demand went forth that if the B. N. A. Act was to be amended at all it might be amended only by the consent of all the provinces. In view of this attitude, it was decided in 1931 not to disturb the existing arrangement of things.

But recently a bill has been introduced in the British House of Lords by way of transferring this authority (which the British Parliament has long exercised) to Canadian hands. The Canadians have now been convinced that they must themselves be the architects of their constitutional future. The adjustment of the provisions of the Constitution to changing times and circumstances was the task of the people of the country themselves. It could not be performed at Westminster. Secondly, as the B. N. A. Act is only a statute of the British Parliament, it has been interpreted as such by the courts. It is now being recognised that the Constitution of a country is a living thing and has to be interpreted not simply in the light of the language of the statute but in the light of the changing conditions of the country. The transference of jurisdiction from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London to the Supreme Court in

Canada will, of course, help a good deal in this regard. But as long as the British Parliament retains the right (though only formal) of amending and modifying the B. N. A. Act, it may continue to be interpreted as a statute. So there is no alternative to the withdrawing of this power from the Parliament at Westminster.

It does not, however, appear that the tangle regarding the compact theory of the Constitution has yet been solved. So long as it is not solved, we cannot be sure as to the machinery which is to be adopted in the future for amending the Canadian Constitution. The bill which has been introduced in the House of Lords is not before us. We do not know whether the power which the British Parliament is relinquishing will be wholly handed over to the Parliament at Ottawa.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Islam and Non-Violence. Published by the author from Shillong, Assam.

The Hon'ble Maulana M. Tayyabulla of Assam was a security prisoner from the 9th August, 1942 to the middle of 1945. This interval was utilised by him in writing a short but very important work "Islam and Non-Violence." Its perusal by even the most casual of readers will show that the author is not only a profound student of the Al Qoran but also that his knowledge and mastery over Hindu and Christian scriptures is no less remarkable. It is an unfortunate fact that non-Muslims have, without proper scrutiny and study of Islamic scriptures somehow come to believe that the religion of which the Maulana Sahib is so well qualified an interpreter is based on violence, that the Al Qoran enjoins on Muslims the duty of spreading Islam by the sword and that it puts a premium on fanaticism. They have utterly overlooked the fact that the tenets of a religion are to be judged only by a reference to the teachings of its founder and that views based on the pronouncements of uncharitable and ignorant critics are far from constituting a reliable yard stick for arriving at conclusions. The Maulana Sahib deserves the heartiest congratulations of all detached students and men of goodwill for proving, with the help of extensive quotations from the Al Qoran and its commentators, that Islam is fundamentally a religion of peace and that the Prophet and his successors as well as all his faithful followers observed non-violence in their social and political activities. He has also proved beyond any cavil that the spirit of toleration informed the teachings and the practice of the Prophet, that war according to the founder of Islam should always be defensive war as also that obedience to even non-Muslim authority so long as it grants religious and cultural freedom is enjoined on the Muslim. The author has done a very great service to both Muslims and non-Muslims by once again reminding the former about the fundamentals of his faith and by explaining them to the latter thus removing such prejudices as may have been due to misunderstanding.

H. C. Mookerjee.

Wages. (*a*) General Report, published by the International Labour Office, Geneva.

This Report will be found interesting and useful by all students of Economics with special interest in problems of wages. The Report combines theoretical discussion with ample factual data, and brings within its scope such diverse topics as factors in wage determination, systems of wage payment, main types and economic effects of wage-guarantees, the relationship between wages and the price-level, and wages and employment, and international aspects of wage policy.

AMLAN DUTTA.

Mynah at the Zoo and other Essays. By J. Vijayatunga. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price 3-12-0.

Speaking of Bernard Fonseca, a contemporary said he wrote "delicious English." The same phrase might be applied to T. Viiayatunga. In this delightful collection of essays, he reveals both the artist and the thinker. He can toy with an idea as playfully as a kitten as in his eassy "On Thank You", display the gusto that literary genius inspires as in "The Creator of Burlap" or treat with seriousness the religious doctrines of Buddhism and Hinduism.

The essays have been divided into three groups. In Part I, the author's thoughts float hither and thither like thistledown. "Moon Thoughts" is a fine piece of writing.

In Part II, he settles down to serious religious discussion though his sense of humour peeps out now and again. "The Teeming Millions of India" is a popular phrase and an apt one. Now, how could one or even two or three gods look after such a multitude ?

In Part III, the reader revels in fine pieces of literary appreciation—tributes to Huxley, Carpenter, Upton Sinclair, Lafcadio Hearn, etc. Autobiographical reminiscences of school days are also included. Lastly, he bids farewell to England.

Orthodox Hindus and true Christians may not agree with the ideas expressed in Part II but all Asiatics will be proud of a contemporary who has mastered a foreign tongue and handles it with such ease. In addition to a good literary style, Vijayatunga rounds off his ideas with artistic finish *e.g.* the conclusion of "Farewell England"—"Wash it at its source and bring to Asia only the gold."

Y. MATHIAS

The Social Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda. By Trilochan Dass Co-operatif Book Depot, Calcutta, Price Rupee One.

This is a booklet of forty pages. In it the author's aim is to present an analysis of Swami Vivekananda's teachings. The author's is doubtless a noble project. Indeed Swami Vivekananda flashed like a meteor through the firmament of nineteenth-century India. He was a kaleidoscopic genius, and his teachings cover a wide range of subjects. The author is obviously very ambitious ; he tries to compress into two score of pages what in fact needs a fairly big volume. The account the author gives is therefore bound to be sketchy. He brings up too many points and can do justice to none. Besides, the work betrays a tendency towards hasty generalization and inept comparison. It seems that the author is very anxious to affiliate Vivekananda to some schools of Western thought. But we must be slow to say that Vivekananda was a socialist or a philosopher in the ordinary sense of the term. Vivekananda is far too great to take rank with Durkheim, Karl Marx, Lenin, Dewey, Russell and Bergson.

In one context the author says that Vivekananda was a hyper-individualist, but does not explain exactly what the term "hyper-individualist" means. One should read Vivekananda's works between the lines before one concludes that Vivekananda sets individual against society.

In Appendix A the author collects quite a number of opinions on Vivekananda from eminent scholars and thinkers. But Vivekananda is much too well-known to need testimonials. In Appendix B the choicest utterances of the Swami are culled from his writings. These are indeed interesting and highly instructive. Appendix C and Appendix D are together a bit of author's autobiography. All this goes ill with the main theme of the booklet. Worst of all, undue importance is attached to the Foreword, which is beyond any doubt a jumble of words. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's portrait in the upper flap of the jacket dims the frontispiece.

The fact, however, remains that the author writes simple lucid English. The booklet is after all an attempt to sketch Vivekananda and is calculated to stimulate research in Vivekananda literature.

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS

Sataka-trayadi Subbasita-Sangraha, edited by Prof. Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay. 1948, Rs. 12-8-0.

A collection of 'good sayings,' including the three centuries of verse by Bhartrihari, edited by Prof. D. D. Kosambi of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, published by the Bharatiya Vidyabhavan and included in the Singhee Jainograntha-mala, will be welcome to scholars and others interested in Sanskrit poetry.

It is a beautiful and scholarly edition in which the text has been printed in bold type with variants carefully recorded. The critical text is not loyal to the term 'century'—69 slokas on Niti, 71 on Sringara, 53 on Vairagya, and 7 unplaced, 200 in all, are common to all versions, and they have been placed in Group I. Stanzas from 201 up to 352, consisting of stray verses from single versions, have been included under Group II, are suspect, and stanzas 353 to 852 are stray verses, placed under Group III.

Group IV. "Apocrypha," divided into two sections, the Vitavritta and the Vijnanasataka, include 84 and 103 or 187 slokas together. All this is followed by an alphabetical index of the slokas. Dr. Kosambi has done his work with a thoroughness which leaves little to be said by way of suggestion. The method and accuracy displayed is such as could be expected from a scholar of Mathematics.

We would only point to two expressions as deserving of emendation, one in the foreward, the other in the Introduction. Is it proper to call these verses 'epigrammatic'? The point of the epigram certainly is missing from many of them. In the Introduction, it is difficult to appreciate the term 'otherwise' in 'otherwise respectable scholars' (p. 80, 5.3.)

But these, along with a printing mistake (a single mistake which I could find) do not deserve to be mentioned in an appreciation of this stupendous, scholarly work in which the severe labour involved may not appear on the surface—specially in the preparation of the Synoptic chart. The brief notice of Dharmanandaji, saint, scholar and patriot, will be appreciated by the general public who may not be interested in Sanskrit Literature in general and Bhartrihari's centuries in particular.

P. R. SEN

Ourselves

The Late Benoy Kumar Sarkar

We referred in short in the last issue of this journal to the sudden and untimely death of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar at Washington. In view of the important rôle he filled in the publication of this journal, in the life of the University and in the wider field of cultural activity of this province, we pointed out then that a fuller sketch of his life and career would be brought out in this number. In fact his work as a scholar and patriot was so varied and so continuous during the last forty years and more that in no single reference, however long, a proper tribute can be paid to his memory.

A brilliant alumnus of this University, he passed the Entrance Examination at a very early age from a school in Malda and joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a fresher. In his degree courses he studied English Literature and History. In his time the latter subject included also Political Philosophy and Economics in which he took almost an exclusive interest after passing the M.A. Examination. It is significant that as a student young Benoy Kumar did not, like most other boys, concentrate only on his studies according to the University syllabus but kept his mind open to new ideas from whichever source they might come. Inevitably and in the nature of things he was drawn to the Dawn Society which was organised and conducted by one of the most striking and self-sacrificing patriots whom it was the privilege of this province to bring forth in that decade of idealism—Satish Chunder Mukherji. The Society was founded in 1902 and remained in existence till 1906. The object of this organisation was to widen the bounds of knowledge of the University students and initiate them to patriotic ideas and service. During the short period of its existence it moulded the mind of many brilliant young men. Among them were young Benoy Kumar and Rajendra Prasad (the future Congress President).

When Benoy Kumar was finally passing out of the University, the province of Bengal, as it was then, was partitioned at the behest of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and over this issue of partition was started the first national movement against the British Government.

The movement brought out the best that was in our youngmen, many of whom instead of proceeding along stereotyped roads of earthly gain now took up national work in one capacity or another at considerable personal sacrifice. Benoy Kumar was not a pupil of Satish Chunder Mukherji in vain. He sought for no berth in the Government service which it would have been easy for a man of his academic antecedents to secure. On the contrary he joined the National Council of Education and worked under its auspices as a Professor of History and Political Science and this for a period of nine years. He was again not merely a teacher of youth during this period but was the organiser of a movement as a result of which many accomplished young men got an opportunity of going abroad to add to their qualifications in technical and other fields and make themselves more useful to society on their return to the country.

It was characteristic of the man that while he was doing his best to facilitate further studies, in foreign countries, of many of his friends and associates, he himself did not leave India till 1914. In that year, however, he proceeded on a tour in Europe and America which continued for twelve years. During this sojourn he came in touch with all kinds of men who mattered in the field of education, administration, industry and statesmanship. His energy was tremendous, his thirst for knowledge unlimited and with these virtues goading him on he acquired knowledge in the fields of Economics and Sociology which was the envy of many and which became an asset in later years to the different batches of his students.

In 1926 he returned to India and took up lecturing duties in the University of Calcutta. The present writer, though intimate with him in other capacities, had no opportunity of attending his classes. But those who had the good fortune of sitting at his feet would readily and with pride testify that never had they a dull moment in his lecture room. This is a great tribute to the memory of a Professor who had to address students from day to day and not unoften several hours every day. He was again as ready with his oral addresses as with his written articles and brochures. They came out in an unceasing flow in different journals and on different topics. Many of his public addresses and papers roused a violent controversy, e.g., in regard to rupee-sterling ratio and sterling balances. But whether we would agree with him or not, there was no gainsaying the fact that he had something to say of his own on these topics.

Benoy Kumar was associated with the conduct of many journals. Here we should refer particularly to his connection with this Review, of the editorial Board of which he was for long a member. Many of his sociological discourses were brought out first in this journal. His interest in its conduct was consistent and untiring. Even in course of his last sojourn in the United States he persuaded many scholars of that country to take an intimate interest in this publication of the University of Calcutta. His demise at this hour leaves a void which it will be difficult to fill for a long time.

Of his many publications some were scholarly and were to be appreciated only by the select few. But there were some again which were written for the general reader and intended to evoke his interest in the world outside his immediate circle. On his leaving India in 1914 he kept diaries in Bengali of the places he visited, of the men he met and of the institutions whose work he appreciated in Europe, America, Egypt and other countries. These diaries were published in a series of volumes entitled "Contemporary World". They were read with avidity by young students of schools and colleges. The first World War had already broken the insularity of outlook of the Indian youth. A new interest in the world outside was created. This was now further stimulated by Professor Sarkar's diaries.

It should be remembered in this connection that Professor Sarkar was not a mere scholar. He was a patriot. His object was not simply to enrich his own mind and extend the bounds of knowledge of the world. His mission was to energise the mind of the Indian youth, particularly of the youth of his own province, and inspire it with new ideas and outlook. Young men of a dependent country were apt to suffer from an inferiority complex. Professor Sarkar took upon himself the mission of eradicating this complex. Nothing disgusted him more than the habit of looking up to others for things which one could do oneself. It was with a view to instil the spirit of self-help and self-reliance that he translated Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery.* Many of the older generation still feel grateful to Professor Sarkar for this exquisite translation of an inspiring book. It will be idle to deny that this publication had its place in the making of Bengal as it was in pre-Gandhian days.

The University Senate adopted a resolution at its meeting of the 10th December recording its sense of loss at the death of Professor

Sarkar and the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, paid a high tribute to his memory. Professor Sirkumar Banerjee, President, Council of Post-Graduate Teachiring in Arts has also referred in his tribute as published in the press to the great qualities of head and heart of Professor Sarkar and to the services he rendered to Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta.

* * *

THE LATE K. C. BHATTACHARYYA

We are grieved to learn of the death of Mr. K. C. Bhattacharyya. A distinguished student of Philosophy, he was a professor in several Government colleges in this province retiring in 1929. Thereafter he was associated with the Post-Graduate Department of this University for a few years as George V Professor of Philosophy. As a teacher Professor Bhattacharyya acquired great prestige and reputation and won the respect of his students and colleagues. We offer our condolence to his sons and other members of his family.

* * * *

PROFESSOR S. K. CHATTERJI

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Professor of Linguistics and Phonetics of this University, left for Paris early in December last to participate in the deliberations of a UNESCO Conference on the possibilities of a world Braille. He would also visit several important Continental Modern Languages Schools.

* * * *

MR. SAILENDRANATH MITRA RETIRES

Mr. Sailendranath Mitra who figured prominently in the Report of the University Marks Enquiry Committee, has retired from the University Service. A brilliant student of Pali Language and Literature, he joined the Post-Graduate Department in 1917 as a Lecturer in the subject. A good scholar, an excellent teacher and a genial and sympathetic colleague, his popularity grew increasingly with the passing on of years both among students and among Post-Graduate teachers. Apart from lecturing to his own students of the Pali Department he had to lend his services also to the Department of

Modern Indian Languages. He was further called upon to serve the University as a Tabulator and Head Examiner. In 1934 he became Secretary to the Board of Editors, Calcutta Review. One year later when the office of Post-Graduate Secretary fell temporarily vacant, he was chosen to undertake the responsibility. Thereafter when the permanent vacancy occurred he was selected by the Joint Meeting of the Executive Committees of Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science as the Secretary to the two Councils. For about fourteen years Mr. Mitra worked in this capacity and bore the burden of its responsibility. During this long period he brought to bear upon his work considerable energy, minute attention to detail and a large fund of sympathy both for his assistants and for students with whom he had constantly to come in touch. In him has retired from University Service not only an efficient Secretary but a loved and lovable man. The Joint Meeting of the two Executive Committees in accepting his resignation adopted a resolution appreciating the excellent work he had done as Secretary for nearly a decade and a half.

* * * *

DR. J. C. KUMARAPPA'S LECTURES

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, President, All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha and an economist of the Gandhian School, delivered in the University a course of three lectures on Agrarian Economics, Gandhian Economics and their implications on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd December last. His Excellency the Chancellor inaugurated the lectures and the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, presided.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

The candidates whose names appear below with the titles of the theses submitted by them and recommended by the Boards of Examiners to whom they were referred have been admitted to the D.Phil. degree :

D.Phil. (Arts)

Name		Thesis
Shyam Swaroop Jalota, M.A.	...	The Psychologist's judgment in industrial and civil personnel selection.
Vipinbehari Trivedi, M.A.	...	Chand Bardai and his Kavya
Karunamay Mukhopadhyay, M.A.	...	Some aspects of the agrarian problems of Bengal.
Shaikh Ghulam Maqsud Hilali, M.A.	...	Iran and Islam—their reciprocal influence
Sibapada Sen, B.A. (Lond.)	...	The French in India : First Establishment Struggle.

D.Phil. (Science)

Syamaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc.	...	I. Studies on Canker disease pigeonpea II. Studies on Rice diseases III. Virus diseases of plants
Pratulnath Sengupta, M.Sc.	...	Studies on the dehydration of meat and the effect of dehydration on the nutritive values of meat and of edible offals
Amalchandra Chaudhuri, M.Sc.	...	I. Reduction of abelian Integrals II. Affine Rollings III. Geometry of Webs
Sisirkumar Chattopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	Dielectric properties of some solid insulating materials of ultra high frequency.
Bibhutibhushan Mukhopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	Spectrographic study of trace elements in Indian minerals by Cathode layer arc and cathodeheminescence.
Hrishikes Chattopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	Studies in some technological aspects of Jute
Purnendukumar Basu, M.Sc.	...	Parametric relations and statistical labels for the distribution functions of classical and studentised D^2—Statistics and the use of these distribution functions as graduating populations for frequency data.

D.Phil. (Science)

Amalkumar Chakrabarti, M.Sc.	I. Theory of fragmentation chromosomes and evolution of species. II. Cytogenetics of Musaceae
Sobhanlal Bandyopadhyay, M.Sc.	Enzymatic studies and studies on the action of ammonium Halides of Epichlorhydrin.
Nareschandra Ghosh, M.Sc.	Studies on nicotinic acid and ascorbic acid in relation to carbohydrate metabolism.
Harischandra Ray, M.Sc.	Studies on Systematics of Indian Molluses
Sudhindranath Sen, M.Sc.	The structure of Anthraquinone
Satischandra Gangopadhyay, M.Sc.	Studies on the absorption and the fluorence spectra of some aromatic hydro-carbons under different physical conditions.
Matiranjan Dasgupta, M.Sc.	Observations on some sporozoa (Protozoa)
Gaganbihari Bandyopadhyay, M.Sc.	On Homologous configurations of Stellar Bodies (an Astrophysical Problem of Gaseous Configuration).
Gopalchandra Mitra, M.Sc.	Organogenesis and nature of the Stipules in Angiosperms (Dicotyledons).
Kamalakanta Majumdar, M.Sc.	Studies in Natural Graphite

The undermentioned candidates whose theses were recommended by Boards of Examiners to whom they were referred, have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Literature :—

D.Litt.

Birendrakumar Bhattacharyya, M.A.	An enquiry into the foundations of Logic
Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A.	The State and Religion in Mughal India

The undermentioned candidate whose thesis was recommended by the Board of Examiners to whom it was referred, has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science :—

D.Sc.

Anilkumar Gangopadhyay, M.Sc.	Cation exchange in Silicate minerals related to soils and clays.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notice

C/2880/Affl

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Syamsundar College, Aharbelma, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Second Language) to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates at the examination in that subject from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate Item No. 26 dated 28th October, 1949.

"Read a memo. from the Registrar, Agra University, debarring the undermentioned candidates from appearing at any examination of the University before 1951 for having used unfair means at the Supplementary B.A. Examination in August, 1949 :—

1. Charan Behari Lal Jonari—Roll No. 837 Urdu I Paper
2. Rameshchandra Mohra—Roll No. 912-General English II Paper
3. Krishna Kumar Shukia—Roll No. 2401 Economics I Paper

Ordered—(1) To be recorded.

(2) That the names be published in the Calcutta Review.

D. G.
for Asst. Registrar."

An extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate Item No. 23, dated 28th October, 1949.

"Read a letter from the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, forwarding a copy of an announcement regarding Bawa Bachittar Singh Prize Essay 1950 and requesting that suitable publicity may be given to the subject in the University and educational institutions under its jurisdiction.

The essays to reach the Secretary, United Service Institution of India, Simla, by 15th February, 1950.

The competition is open, among others to research scholars and staffs recognised Indian Universities.

First Prize—Rs. 500; second prize—Rs. 250.

Resolved—That due publiciiy be given in the matter".

Notification No. C-2715A-Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor has been pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Balurghat College, West Dinajpur, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Logic, History, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements ot Book-keeping to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the Examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

An extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate Item No. 172, dated 17th September, 1949.

"172. Read a letter from the Registrar, East Punjab University, stating as follows :—

The Principal, S. A. Jain College, Ambala City (East Punjab) has rusticated Gain Singh, s/o, Ch. Paras Ram, Registered No. 47-oz-15395, student of 4th-year class of his college, for one year on account of gross misconduct. He shall be eligible to appear in the B.A. Examination of the University in 1950, provided he joins a college after the period of his rustication is over and qualifies himself in all respects.

Ordered—(1) To be recorded.

(2) That the matter be published in the Calcutta Review.

THE SINDH HINDU SEVA SAMITI,
127, MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
Post Box No. 459, Fort,
BOMBAY,

The Registrar, October 18, 1949.
Calcutta University.

Dear Sir,

I shall feel grateful if you be good enough to kindly publish the following announcement in the valuable columns of your paper ;—

LITERARY COMPETITION.

" Literary Contributions both in English as well as in Sindhi, carrying prizes of Rs. 1001/-, Rs. 500/-, and Rs. 200/- in English, and Rs. 500/-, Rs. 200/-, and Rs. 100/- in Sindhi, for the first three best entries in each Section, are invited, on

"THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MASS MIGRATION OF HINDUS FROM SIND."

The compositions should contain, substantiated as far as possible with authentic facts and figures, illustrations, and quotations from reliable records, the immediate and remote causes of their migration from Sind, the expediency and probability of returning back, their plans, for effective and quick rehabilitation, and suggestions for the preservation of their distinct character and culture including language, best suited to the present changed environments.

The competition is held for collection of true facts to serve as a valuable historical record for the posterity and also as a source of correct information to the local and outside people who are not in the know of true facts.

A competitor should only mention his nom-de-plume along with his writing and submit his full name and address in a separate sealed cover bearing his particular nom-de-plume.

Compositions must be type-written, and if in Sindhi very clearly written, double-spaced and on one side of the paper only.

An entrant may compete in both the languages.

In the award of prizes, the judges' decision will be final.

In case of any rewarded writing being published all the copyrights shall vest in the Sindh Seva Samiti, under whose auspices the competition is being held.

30th November, 1949 is the last date for acceptance of contributions which may be addressed to Mr. Nanik G. Motwano, Hon. Gen. Secretary, Sindh Seva Samiti, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Post Box No. 459, Fort, Bombay."

As the matter is in the service of the displaced brethren, you will kindly make the announcement, free of charge, in other case, you will kindly return the same.

Trusting, you will kindly comply with my request, I am,

Yours in Service,

Sd. ILLEGIBLE

HONY. GEN. SECRETARY.

UNIVERSITY OF SAUGAR NOTIFICATION

Saugar, the 10th September, 1949.

No. 5—In partial modification of this office Notification No. 3 dated 2nd May, 1949, it is hereby notified as per Resolution No. 28/22 (iv) of the Executive Council meeting held on 31st July, 1949, that the following candidates who appeared at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1949, are hereby declared disqualified for admission to any University Examinations before the year 1950 instead of 1951 as previously announced.

Roll No.	Enrol No.	Name of candidates.	Father's name	College	Exam.
55	A/2348	Dhanwantary Sharma	Dr. R. P. Sarma	University Teaching Dept.,	I.Sc.
294	A/2645	Nilamber Prasad Rutley	Shri Mangal Prasad Rutley	Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, Jubbulpore.	I.Sc.
77	A/1388	Narendra Singh Chauhan	Shri Mahadeo Singh Chauhan	Do.	B.A. (Pass).
358	A/1584	Krishna Kumar Chaurasia	Dr. Ganesh Lal Chhattisgarh College, Raipur.	...	Do .

By order of the Executive Council,

Sd. Ishwar Chandra,

Registrar,

University of Saugar.

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

ORDER

I

The following examinees, having been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1949, are disqualified for admission to any University examination to be held before the year 1951, *viz.*—

Roll No.	Name in full.	Examination.	College.
884	Chandra Singh Ahilojirao Ahirrao	Intermediate in Arts.	Hislop Coll, Nagpur
61	Govind Pandharinath Joshi	First Examination for the Diploma in Engineering.	Govt. Engineering School, Nagpur.
62	Govind Paabhakar Harkare	Do.	Do.

II.

Roll No. 280, Shrimati Shakuntala Govind Mhaisekar, a non-collegiate candidate at the Intermediate Examination in Arts held in March-April, 1949, is disqualified for admission to any examination of Nagpur University to be held in future, for having been found guilty of attempting to obtain preferential treatment in the valuation of her answer-books at the examination.

By order of the Executive Council,

N. MISRA

Registrar,
Nagpur University,

Nagpur:
The 14th September, 1949.

No. 6029 Dated Nagpur, the 14th September, 1949.

Copy forwarded to—

1. Shri Chandra Singh Ahilojirao Ahirrao, c/o Sardar Ahilojirao Ahirrao Mahal, Nagpur;
2. Shri Govind Pandharinath Joshi, c/o Shri P. G. Joshi, Station Master, Borkhedi, G. I. P. Rly., Post—Bela, Nagpur;
3. Shri Govind Prabhakar Harkare, c/o Shri P. D. Harkare, Pleader, Saoner, Dist.—Nagpur;
4. Shrimati Shakuntala Govind Mhaisekar, Hadgaon, Dist. Nanded (Dn.),
5. the Principals of all Colleges in the University,

and 6. the Registrars of all Universities in India, for information.

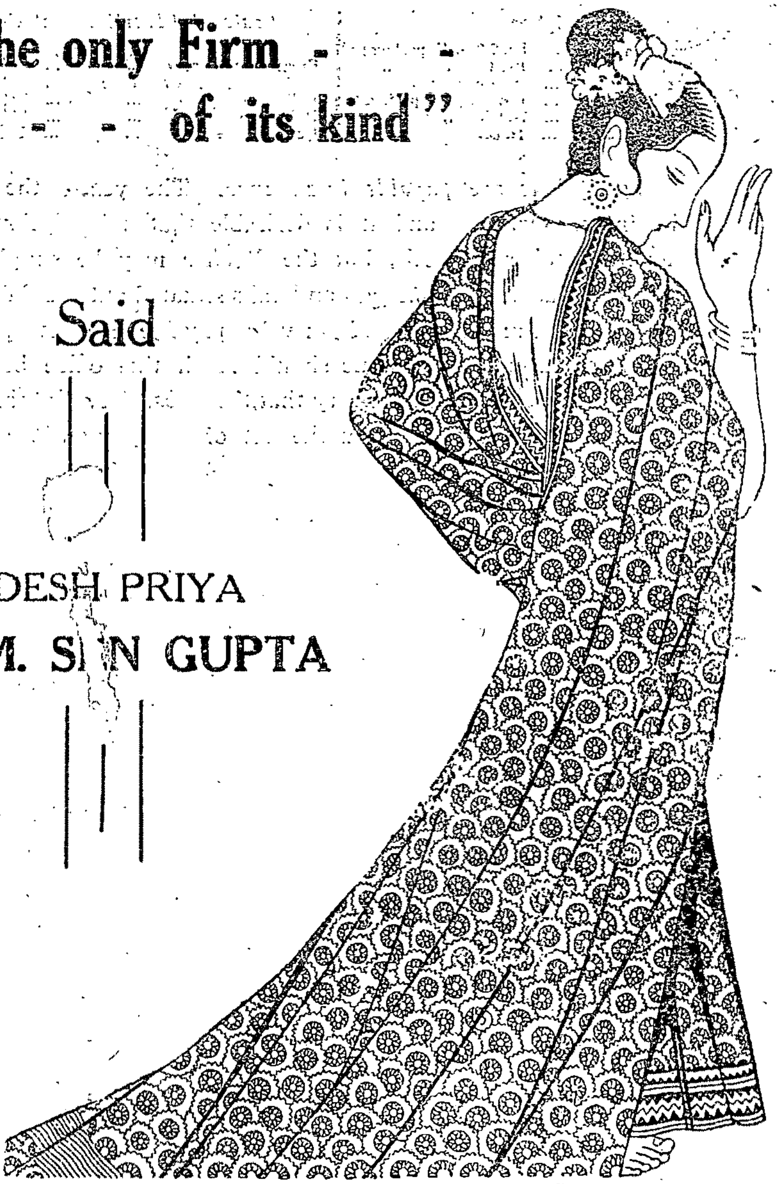
N. MISRA

Registrar,
Nagpur University.

"The only Firm - - - - - - of its kind"

Said

DESH PRIYA
J. M. SEN GUPTA



Indian silk-House

COLLEGE STREET MARKET, CALCUTTA
PHONE B. B. 411

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Subscription

Annual subscription	...	Rs. 7-8 (with postage)
Half-yearly „	...	Rs. 4 „ „
Single number	...	12 as. per copy.
Foreign, Annual	...	14*s.* net (with postage)
„ Half-yearly	...	7*s.* 6*d.* „ „
„ Single number	...	1*s.* 6*d.*

Scale of Advertisement Charges

			Rs.
Front Cover Page	...	...	45 (per insertion
Back and Inside Cover Page		...	35 („
Full Page	...	...	30 („
Half Page	...	...	17 („
Quarter Page	...	...	10 („

All *Subscriptions* are *payable in advance.* The year of the *Calcutta Review* begins in October, and it is desirable that subscription should commence with October or April ; but the *Review* may be supplied from any other month as well. *Cheques* on banks situated outside Calcutta are not accepted. *Terms* are strictly cash, or value payable on delivery by post. Complaints of non-receipt of any issue should reach this office before 15th of that month. In all cases it is necessary that the *Subscriber Number* should be quoted. The *Review* comes out on the 1st of every month, and there are 12 issues in the year.

Advertisement : Advertisers should send revised advertisement copies if necessary within the 15th of the preceding month.

Contributions : The Editorial Board of the *Calcutta Review* will be pleased to receive contributions on subjects of general cultural and educational interest, as also articles on current political, economic, social and cultural topics and movements of national and international significance. Highly technical articles are discouraged, except when they aim at a high standard of scholarship and literary excellence.

Sailendra Nath Mitra,
Naresh Chandra Roy.
Jt. Hony. Secretaries, Board of Editors.

CHOICEST INDIAN TEA LEAVES IN A
MATCHLESS BLEND

TOSH'S TEA

The Popular Quality Tea of India : A pleasure to drink & to offer

A. TOSH & SONS
TEA MERCHANTS
11-1, HARRISON ROAD, CALCUTTA.

TO

The Graduates

OF

THE UNIVERSITY

Dear Young Friends,

Coming out of your colleges with University certificates of success, you are faced with the immediate problem of how to choose a CAREER in the phase of life you are now entering. Of course all of you are keenly anxious to succeed and you are eager to work hard, for you know, as everybody knows, that it is a long and arduous road that leads to success.

Whether you take to business or a profession, success will not be achieved as a matter of course without long and sustained effort through years of trial and test.

But Insurance Selling is a striking exception to this general rule. Here the "trial and test" process is quick and certain. In no other profession can you reach your goal of a substantial income as quickly and as surely as in the life insurance salesmanship. **Besides, it is a distinguished calling.**

The knowledge of what life insurance is and what it can do for those who avail of it, does not take years of study to master. Qualities which are essential to the development of a competent agent, are readily recognised by the *Hindusthan* in the new recruit who will soon blossom into a **successful agent.**

Successful Agents have risen to distinction and affluence in the Hindusthan—where you get liberal terms and square dealings.

Ambitious young men, trustworthy young men, men who can forge ahead to earn for themselves commanding positions are the real men always wanted by the

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE

INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED

Head Office:

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS

4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA

THE COMILLA UNION BANK
LIMITED.

ESTD. 1922

REGD. OFFICE : 8, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Authorised Capital ...	...	Rs.	2,00,00,000
Issued & Subscribed Capital ...	...	,,	1,00,00,000
Subscribed Capital ...	...	,,	1,00,00,000
Paid up Capital ...	over	,,	82,00,000
Reserve Fund ...	over	,,	34,23,000

An well established Bank carrying on business on sound lines **far more than 26 years.**

Branches at important trade centres in India and Pakistan and transacting Exchange Business of every description with all principal commercial places of the world. Terms may be ascertained on application.

Current and Savings account opened and interest allowed at 1/4 p.c. and 1 p.c. respectively. Fixed Deposits accepted for 6 and 12 months. Terms on application.

Loans and Advances allowed against approved securities.

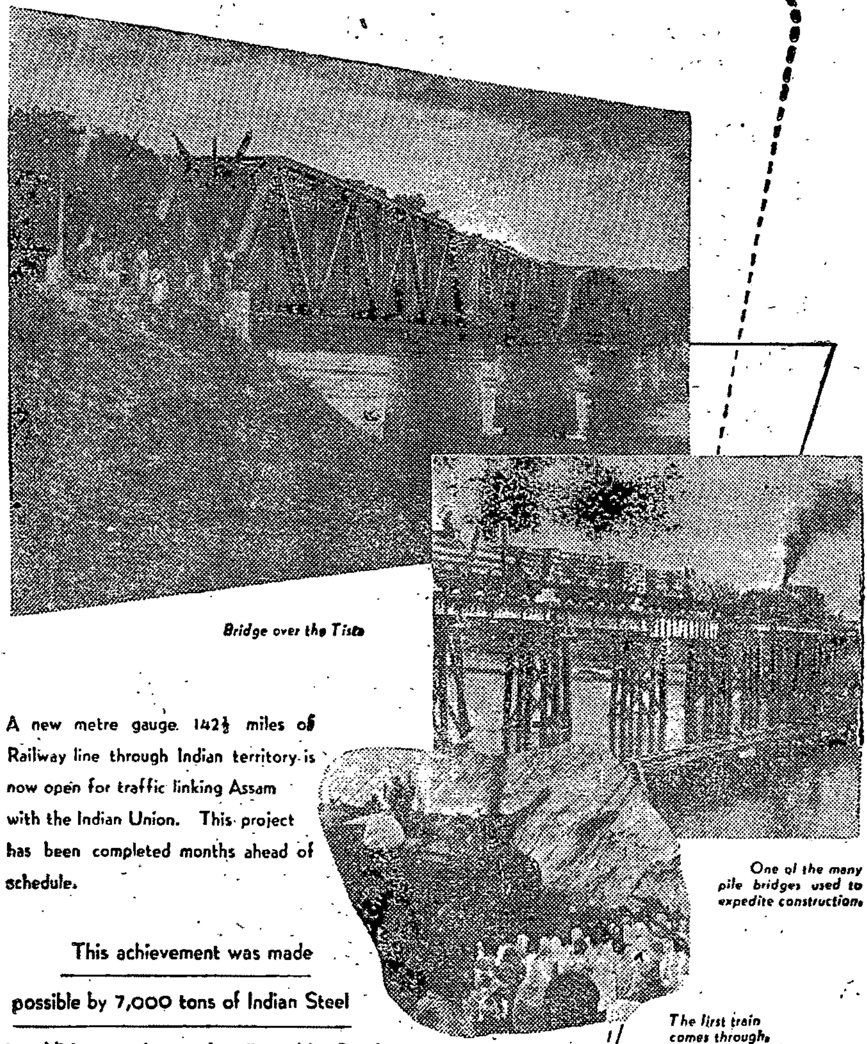
Bills discounted and collected.

Managing Director : DR. S. B. DUTT.

No. 1

on the road to progress

Steel links India's frontiers......



Bridge over the Tista

One of the many pile bridges used to expedite construction.

The first train comes through.

A new metre gauge 142½ miles of Railway line through Indian territory is now open for traffic linking Assam with the Indian Union. This project has been completed months ahead of schedule.

This achievement was made possible by 7,000 tons of Indian Steel in addition to the track rails, and by Steel in various other forms.

TATA STEEL

THE TATA IRON & STEEL COMPANY LIMITED, HEAD SALES OFFICE: 23B, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD, CALCUTTA.

"*I take tea everyday*

at least twice and find it quite invigorating. I am not aware that it has produced any harmful effect on my health. On the contrary, the morning cup makes me cheerful and renders me fit for starting the day's work."

M. N. Saha

TEA

for Inspiration

ITX 326

Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., Palit Professor and Head of the Department of Physics, Calcutta University, is one of the most eminent scientists of India and is famous internationally for his work on Nuclear Physics, especially on the Theory of Stellarspectra which brought him the Fellowship of the Royal Society. He represented India at the 220th Anniversary of the foundation of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1945.

☆

INSERTED BY
THE CENTRAL TEA BOARD

CALCUTTA NATIONAL BANK LIMITED

Head Office: CALCUTTA NATIONAL BANK BUILDINGS,
MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA

Paid up Capital : ... Rs. 50,00,000/-
Reserves over : ... Rs. 24,00,000/-

BRANCH OFFICES:

Calcutta
Ballygunge
Bhowanipore
Barabazar
Canning St.
Hatkhola
High Court
Kalighat
Shambazar
Delhi
Lucknow
Allahabad
Katra
Banares
Patna
Gaya
Cuttack
Asansol
Bombay (Fort)
Kalvadevi
Sandhurst Rd.
Ahmedabad
Ajmer
Agra
Kanpur
Meston Rd.
Bareilly
Madras
Nagpur
Nagpur City
Amraoti
Jubbulpore
Jubbulpore Cant.
Raipur
Chittagong
Dacca

London Agents : MIDLAND BANK LTD.

Current, Savings and Fixed Deposit Accounts accepted in all the offices of the Bank. Interest on Savings Bank deposits allowed at 1½ p.c. per annum. Withdrawals by cheques.

Have an account with the "CALCUTTA NATIONAL"

ADVERTISEMENT

IN THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

IS AN

INVESTMENT

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1950

CONTENTS

PAGE

Hindu Culture
Swami Nikhilananda 77

Aldous Huxley
Amalendu Dasgupta 99

Hriday Jamuna
S. N. Sen 106

The Wardha Scheme
Chunilal Mitra 115

Problems of Modern History
N. K. Sinha 123

Causerie on Letters
M. M. Desai 133

Panchayat Raj in U.P.—III
Naresh Chandra Roy 141

Round the World 151

Reviews and Notices of Books 159

Ourselves 163

Notifications 165

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1950

FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN CULTURE[1]

SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

At the very outset I should like to make two observations. First, on account of the shortness of the time at my disposal, I shall confine my discussion to the Vedic period of Indian history, when the foundations of Indian culture were laid. Second, I shall for the most part use the word Indo-Āryan in place of the word Hindu, since the people of India during the period under discussion were not known by the latter name. The word Hindu, a corruption from Sindhu, the great river that flows through the West Punjab, was of foreign origin, having been first coined by the Persians and later adopted by the Greeks during Alexander's time.

RACIAL FOUNDATION

The Indian peoples, from the standpoint of language and physical type, can be classified in four groups. First, the majority of modern high-caste Hindus, tall, light-skinned and long-nosed, and speaking languages derived from Sanskrit, are the descendants of a pre-historic people that dwelt in northwestern India and the adjacent provinces and professed a culture known as the Āryan. The Sanskrit word Ārya means noble or respectable. Those living for the most part in southern India, physiognomically somewhat different from the Āryans, whose languages are not rooted in Sanskrit, come from Dravidian ancestry. These two groups, during the historical period, have intermixed to a considerable extent. Third, there is a primitive type, short in stature, dark-skinned, and snub-nosed. They are the descendants of the non-Āryan aborigines of India. Living in the hills and jungles, and known by such names as Kols, Bhils, and Mundas, they speak languages quite different from those of the Indo-Āryans and Dravidians. Fourth, there live on the slopes of the Himalayas and the hills of Āssām a class of people having definite Mongolian features. The Gurkhās, Bhutiyas, and Khāsis belong to this group. The last two groups have not made much progress in civilization. All these four groups form, rather loosely, what is today called the Hindu race.

---

[1] On Wednesday evening, Nov. 9, 1949, the Second Annual Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture was held at the Kent-Hall of Columbia University, New York City. This lecture was provided for by Mary Keatinge Das Fund, established in Columbia University for the promotion of Indian Studies and the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States by Taraknath Das Foundation whose object is "to promote human welfare, friendly relations and cultural co-operation among nations."

The meeting was presided over by Prof James Gulman of the Department of Philosophy. Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes said prayer for the occasion, and Swami Nikhilananda of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Center of New York delivered a learned lecture on Foundation of Hindu Culture. The meeting was concluded by a short speech by Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor of History and Lecturer on Indian History and Civilization at Columbia University.

Recent archaeological excavations in the Punjab, Sind, and the neighbouring districts of Beluchistan have unearthed a civilization fifty centuries old. The ruins of Mohenjo-Dāro show that the city which has been excavated was built on top of seven other similar cities all built on the same site. Thus the Indus Valley civilization was contemporary with, if not earlier than, the civilizations that flourished on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. Mohenjo-Dāro was a spacious city containing large brick houses, extensive public buildings, pillared halls, a great bath, wide streets, and an elaborate drainage system. In it lived an urban people, as can be judged from their food, dress, ornaments, household articles, domestic animals, weapons of war, seals, specimens of the fine arts, and evidences of trade and commerce. They possessed considerable technical knowledge, as proved by the presence of the potter's wheel, kiln-burnt bricks, and metal castings and alloys. The people of the Indus Valley enjoyed many of the amenities of urban life. One of the objects of their worship was the Divine Mother, the energy which is the source of all creation. Another symbol of worship was a male god with three faces, seated in a meditation posture, like a yogi, and surrounded by animals. Both these images have their prototypes in the Vedas.

The relationship of the Indus Valley civilization with the Āryan civilization is a controversial subject. Some say that the latter is a part of the Indus Valley civilization; but arguments against such a contention are also advanced. The Indus Valley civilization bears a striking resemblance to the ancient civilizations of Sumer and

Mesopotamia. There appears to have existed an active intercourse between them. The question is not settled whether civilization originated in the Indus Valley and then spread towards the West, or *vice versa*. The age of the Vedas was fixed by Max Müller at the latter half of the second millenium B.C., though Jacobi and Tilak pushed the date farther back. However that may be, the present culture of India is one of the oldest living cultures on earth and is unique in that it has shown a remarkable continuity of ideals through the ages in spite of many political upheavals and military conquests.

THE VEDAS

The Vedas are the earliest literature of the Indo-Āryans. They contain, besides the rules for worship, certain spiritual truths and laws revealed to the rishis, or seers, whose minds had been purified by the practice of meditation and self-control. These scriptures were held in such high respect that no one dared to distort their words or change them in any way. For many a century the teachings were transmitted orally before they were committed to writing. Great emphasis was laid on the precise pronunciation of the Vedic texts. The non-Āryans were often ridiculed as "noseless" (anāsā) on account of their inability to utter the Vedic words correctly.

The Vedas, four in number, are divided into two sections: Mantra and Brāhmana. The former is a collection of hymns and prayers used in sacrifices and religious worship. The Brāhmana section contains rules and regulations for sacrifices, deals with their various accessories, and also elucidates the meaning of the abstruse mantras. The Upanishads form the concluding portion of the Brāhmana section and deal with the philosophy of the Indo-Āryans.

The six auxiliaries of the Vedas, known as Vedāngas, are phonetics (śikshā), rituals (kalpa), grammar (vyakaranam), etymology (nirukta), metre (chhandas), and astronomy (jyotis). Some idea of the wide range of subjects studied by the Indo-Āryans may be gathered from the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (VII.i.2). These include the Sāma-Veda, Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Atharva-Veda, legend and ancient lore (itihāsa-purāṇa), the science relating to the ancestors (pitrya), mathematics (rāśi), the knowledge of portents (daiva), chronology (nidhi), dialectics (vākovākya), ethics (ekāyana), etymological interpretations of divine names (devavidyā), the Knowledge of the Absolute (Brahmavidyā), demonology or the science of the elements (bhutavidyā), military science (kshatravidyā), astronomy (nakshatravidyā), the science of snakes (sarpavidyā), and music (devajanavidyā). They all belong to the vast domain of the Vedic culture. It is no wonder that the Indo-Āryans regarded the Vedas with such awe. This also accounts for the popular saying that if a thing is not found in the Vedas, it simply does not exist anywhere.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The family was the foundation of the social life. The members of the family lived in the same house, which had a central fireplace for sacrificial purposes, a sitting-room, and women's apartments. Girls, who were considered inferior to boys and so were not always wanted, received nevertheless an excellent education. They were given in marriage after they had attained full development. They retained their individuality and took an important part in family activities. Though dependent on men, they radiated grace and contentment and were modest and of cultivated habits. Women were taught that the main purpose of married life was to beget intelligent and heroic sons for the protection and propagation of the Vedic lore. Some women, known as Brahmavādinis or preachers of Brahman, remained celibate, engaged in the teaching of Brahman. There is no evidence of the seclusion of women in Vedic times. "Decked and shining forth like sunbeams," they participated in festal gatherings. The wife conciliated the husband in the event of a quarrel and often brought him back to a sense of duty when, lost in meditation, he neglected his householder's duties. Women, however, could not participate in political assemblies. Polygamy was in vogue, but not polyandry.

Some women were highly spiritual and composed Vedic hymns. The names of Viśavārā, Ghoṣā, and Apālā may be mentioned in this connexion. In the *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad* (II. iv. 3), Maitreyi disdains worldly possessions and engages her husband in an abstruse discussion regarding the soul's immortality. The same Upanishad (III. vi. 1) describes a conference of learned theologians and philosophers in which Gārgi, another woman, takes a prominent part. The Rig-Veda (X. cxxv. 1-8) describes a woman seer who, having realized the ideal of oneness with the universe, exclaims: "It is by me that one eats food, sees, and breathes, and hears, what is said. . . Having created all these worlds, I move freely, like the wind. I, who am beyond the sky and beyond this earth, came to be so by my own majesty."

The Vedas mention the care to be bestowed upon children. The religious ceremonies at birth included a prayer for the baby's longevity (āyur), vitality (varcho), fame (yaśo), and strength (balam). The hymns at the time of the cremony of the first rice-eating (annaprāśana) emphasize the importance of cleanliness, careful cooking, good water, and healthful food. Some of the ailments of babies were ascribed to spells and charms.

At the age of five, boys and girls were initiated into the study of the Vedas. The boys left their homes and lived in the family of a teacher (gurukula). Taking the vows of service to the teacher, chastity, and austerity, they disciplined themselves both physically and mentally and observed the rules of good health, especially the care of the teeth and eyes. Studentship lasted for twelve or sixteen years, after which they became householders. Some preferred to remain celibate all through life, devoted to study and spiritual practices.

Men and women were attentive to dress and adornment. Their garments, made of cotton, deerskin, or wool, were of variegated colours and embroidered with gold. Floral wreaths were common, as they still are in southern and western India. The daily food consisted mainly of parched grain, cakes, milk, various milk products, fruits, and vegetables. Meat was also in common use, and it was generously consumed at times of festivity. An exhilirating drink known as soma is frequently mentioned as a favourite beverage. It also played an important part in the Vedic sacrifices. The favourite amusements were racing, hunting, war-dances, chariot-races, and dicing. Women were particularly fond of dancing and singing to the accompaniment of lutes and cymbals. During the later Vedic period, dramas came into vogue and some musicial instruments are mentioned that were furnished with a hundred strings. Life in general was joyous and gay.

In the beginning the Indo-Āryans settled mostly in villages (grāma), and gradually cities (puram) came into existence. Stone walls are mentioned. An official called grāmanī (village chieftain), elected by the people, was in charge of both the civil and the military affairs of the community. Homesteads and arable lands were owned by individuals or families, and grasslands held in common. Agriculture was the chief occupation, the fields being irrigated by canals. Cattle and domestic animals were reared, and people engaged in trade and industry. The chief articles of trade were clothes, coverlets, and skins, and business was carried on chiefly through barter. Among the standard units of value are mentioned the cow (godhana) and the gold necklet (nishka). No coin of the Vedic period has been discovered. The principal means of transportation on land were chariots and wagons, drawn respectively by horses and oxen. Rivers were navigated, and mention is made of the sea (samudra) "without support or hold or station." But in the later Vedic period people had intimate knowledge of the sea, and according to some scholars a brisk trade flourished with Babylon. The industries consisted of wool-work, metal-work, tanning, pottery, and weaving. Gradually specialization set in. People were affluent and no mention is made of the devastating famines that plagued the country in later times.

A unique feature of the Indo-Āryan social organization is what is known as the varnāśramadharma, or the laws governing the various groups in the community and also the stages of the individual life Through these two institutions the In do-Āryans applied the doctrines of their religion and philosophy to society and to the individual, the goal being the fullest realization of the spiritual dignity of the individual through the active co-operation of society. The groupings of society, later known as the system of caste, sought to eliminate friction between its different members and emphasized their organic unity. The āśramas, or stages in individual growth, were designed to solve the problem of the perennial clash between society and the individual and to show that individual freedom does not conflict with social demands. Largely because of this system, Indo-Āryan society has preserved up to the present time its integrity and cohesiveness in the face of the onrush of aggressive foreign ideals.

Society was conceived of, in the Rig-Veda, as a person. One reads in the Purusha Sukta (Rig-Veda, X xc 12) that the brāhmin, or priest, was his mouth, the kshattriya, or warrior, his arms, the vaiśya, or merchant, his thighs, and that the śudra, or manual labourer, sprang from his feet. The word varna suggests that the original division was influenced by the colour of the skin. But later many non-Āryans were assimilated and assigned their proper places in the social system. Barbarians like the Huns, the Saks, and the Beluchis became members of Hindu society and many of the kshattriya princes of Rājputāna are their descendants.

The brāhmin group was in charge of sacrifices and other religious ceremonies and of the teaching of the Vedas. The kshattriya group wielded the kingly and military power and defended the country from internal disorder and external invasion. The vaiśya group was in charge of agriculture, trade, and commerce and looked after the economic interests of society. The śudras rendered menial services.

The first three groups were permitted to study the Vedas and enjoy the amenities of cultural life. The śudras received spiritual knowledge indirectly, through popular lectures and the study of secondary religious books. The brāhmins, the spiritual heads of society, practised truthfulness, austerity, and voluntary poverty and rendered spiritual service to others; they acted as advisers to the king and engaged in teaching. The kshattriyas cultivated such chivalric virtue as heroism, uprightness, justice, and kindliness. The vaiśyas accumulated money and enjoyed many comforts but held their property in trust for the welfare of society. The śudras, engaging in labours of various kinds, obeyed the higher castes and received protection from them. The four castes were interdependent, being vital parts of society; the welfare of one was related to that of the others. The purpose of the system was to prevent the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

In Vedic times the classes were not stratified. There was hardly any restriction about inter marriage, occupation, or commensality. The taking of a bride from a lower class was approved. "I am," says a Vedic rishi, "a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother a grinder of corn." The various members of a family held different views and followed different pursuits. There was no ban on taking food cooked by śudras, and the pollution of food by touch was unknown. The class system was not hereditary; it was based on virtues and duties (una-karma).

In later Vedic times seeds of far-reaching consequence were sown in the class system. As society became more complex, the two higher classes, the brāhmins and the kshattriyas, began to claim special privileges. The vaiśyas and śudras were denied certain privileges. The power of the brāhmins, as custodians of religious ceremonies and philosophical wisdom, increased. The kshattriyas from time to time contested this supremacy. The lower communities began to be divided into functional groups of chariot-makers, smiths, carpenters, tanners, fishermen, etc. A stigma gradually became attached to the professions of the śudras. But still social harmony was not broken, as justice, charity, uprightness, toleration, and broadmindedness were the cherished virtues of the higher classes. To a considerable extent the fluidity of the class system was preserved. In later times the classes became hereditary.

Outside the regular classes were outcastes such as the vrātyas and the nishādas. The former belonged to the Āryan fold but became outcaste on account of their non-performance of the Vedic rites. But from time to time they were incorporated into society through purificatory ceremonies. The nishādas were dark-skinned hunters whose descendants still leada primitive life in the hills and jungles.

There was another class of Āryans who lived outside society. They were the wandering monks, hermits, and recluses, who devoted themselves to contemplation and spiritual pursuits.

The division of life into four stages made a man's journey through the world a pilgrimage of which the attainment of freedom was the final goal. During the first stage (brahmacharya) he was a student of the Vedas, living with his teacher and practising chastity, self-control, and other spiritual disciplines. After completing his studies, he entered the second stage (gārhasthya) and became a householder. He propitiated the Deity and served society following the profession of his caste. In the third stage (vânaprastha) husband and wife retired from the world and devoted themselves to contemplation. During the last stage (sannyāsa) a man gave up his allegiance to the family and to society and became a sannyāsi, or wandering monk. He sought freedom in the life of the Spirit. He was not to be tempted by honour or riches or social position. He served society as a spiritual instructor and also as a living witness of the reality of God and the unsubstantiality of material things. Thus he enjoyed the peace and freedom that come from the fulfilment of desires and duties, and that all beings crave. Though the life of renunciation belonged to the last stage of life, yet, according to a Vedic injunction, a man could give up the world whenever he heard the call of the Spirit. Each stage in a man's life had its appropriate duties and obligations.

The word dharma is the key to understanding the evolution of society and of the individual in the Indo-Āryan culture. Even in the early Vedic period the Āryan discovered a rhythm in nature, a coherence, an orderliness, sequence that could be calculated and relied upon. They found the same orderliness in the moral world. This was expressed by the Vedic words ritam and satyam—orderliness and truth. Dharma—derived from the root *dhri,* meaning *to hold* —is the manifestation of ritam in the social and individual life. The law that upholds society and moves it forward does not conflict with individual progress. There need not be any clash between society and the individual. Rather it is the dharma of society to show the individual the way to the fulfilment of his own dharma, which is the realization of his highest potentiality, transcending all social restrictions. A man inherits from his past certain aptitudes and instincts, which determine his dharma, or duty, at a particular stage of evolution. This dharma is the law of his inner growth; he cannot go against it without doing violence to his nature. It is the duty of society to give man facilities for the suitable expression of his dharma. The institution of castes and stages of life fulfils this task. However it may appear antiquated in modern times, the caste-system has rendered Hindu society invaluable service in the past. It protected, by its iron-clad laws, the social fabric of the Hindus from the levelling doctrines of Islām, which swept away everything with which it came in contact in different parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa.

The Indo-Āryan thinkers, in their attitude toward life, combined both realism and idealism. They defined the four ends of life as dharma, artha, kāma, and moksha. Dharma is ethical discipline, the basis of life itself. Artha, or wealth, is indispensable; without it not only is physical life on earth impossible but we cannot show active sympathy for others. Kāma, or sense pleasure, adds to life's enjoyment and refinement. Wealth and sense pleasure must be pursued in accordance with dharma, or righteousness; otherwise the desire for wealth degenerates into greed, and the latter into voluptuousness. But all these three belong to nature, to the phenomenal world. They find their ultimate fulfilment in the transcendental experience of moksha, or communion with the Infinite. When the wick burns at the tip, the whole lamp radiates light. Life is often compared to a lotus plant, which is rooted in the mud but whose blossom rises above the water and is illumined by the light of the sun.

ARTS AND SCIENCES

The development of architecture can he gathered from the mention, in the literature of the later Vedic period, of palaces supported by "a thousand columns" and provided with "a thousand doors." Castles and other structures with "a hundred walls" are also mentioned. Physicians treated patients with charms and spells as well as with herbs and drugs. Some advance was made in surgery. Astronomy was a subject of special study. Several stars were discovered and named. It is not clear whether the Indo-Āryans knew the art of writing; but the prehistoric people of the Indus valley were familiar with it. Literature blossomed in poetry. Some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda preserve for us the finest specimens of this art. The Upanishads express the loftiest philosophical ideas in sublime poetry.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Indo-Āryans in Vedic times lived in communities agricultural in character. The patriarchal family was the basis of social and political organization. Each community has its common chieftain, elders, officers, herdsmen, guards, and policemen. Both monarchical and republican forms of government are mentioned. Elective monarchies were not unknown. The mention of the word samrāt suggests paramount rulership. There existed a powerful aristocracy whose members, men of intellect respected by kings, were "born with golden armour and fit to lead the people." The early Āryan often had to fight the non-Āryans. Military necessity was partly responsible for the office of a king, which was generally hereditary. Most of the rulers were kshattriyas. A good king was respected as the "guest of the people" (viśāmatithi). He was dependent upon the elders for military aid, religious services, and economic resources. His sole concern was the people's welfare. They were expected to observe the law and not prey upon one another after the method of fishes (matsyanyāya), the strong devouring the weak. At his coronation the king swore to reign in goodness and truth, on pain of incurring the anger of the gods and thus bringing ruin upon himself and his family if he violated his promises. As custodian of justice he administered equity rather than law. In the court were present men of good breeding. In order to accomplish his duty as the upholder of dharma, he had to cast off sloth, set an example to people in right conduct, and see that they walked along the path of righteousness. In the goodwill of the people lay his strength and the durability of his tenure. There are instances of kings being suppressed for incurring the general dissatisfaction of the people. The two main officers of the king were the purohita, who was entrusted with religious services, and the senāni, or leader of the army. Foot-soldiers, cavalry, and warriors who fought from chariots composed the army. Bows and arrows, spears, swords, and axes were used as weapons. The king employed spies to watch the conduct of the people.

The king did not govern without the people's consent. The samiti was the popular assembly attended by the princes and the people alike. The sabhā was a council of elders. There are mentioned gay and lively concourses of people. One reads in the Atharva-Veda: "Here and there are men moving in free, joyous, and vigorous companies. Now they are sitting in solemn deliberations, then marching with unfurled flags. Sometimes they speak in sweet, persuasive voice ; again they are loud in quarrel, but always intent on pleasing their colleagues or winning them to a sense of duty." The *Taittiriya Samhitā* mentions the strisamsadam, which was an organization of women. There are non-political organizations for social purposes, and guilds of potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, engineers, and makers of bows and arrows.

There existed inter-state relations between one Āryan state and another and also between Āryan states and non-Āryan. The Āryans tried to humanize war and be chivalrous toward their opponents. But they were distressed when the non-Āryans used magic and charms, and also women in their army, who seduced not only common soldiers but also officers of rank.

During the latter Vedic period one sees the growth of the royal power owing to an increase of the size of the kingdom. The king firmly held the danda, or rod of chastisement. Those monarchs who successfully established their paramountcy over other kings assumed the title of Universal King (rājaviśvajanina), Lord of the Earth (sarvabhumi), or Sole Ruler (ekarāt) and signalized their power by the performance of the rājasuya or the aśvamedha sacrifice, in both of which tributary princes acknowledged the suzerainty of the king making the sacrifice. With the growth of the royal power, the machinery of administration became elaborate. Besides the priest, we find mention, among the royal officials, of the treasurer, the collector of taxes, the royal herald, the chamberlain, the superintendent of gambling, the king's companion in the chase, the courier, and the leader of the village. A regular system of provincial government was established. It was the duty of the ideal king to see that there were plenty and prosperity in the state—active production of wealth and its equitable distribution. Above all, the king was the custodian of righteousness. In the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (v.xi.5.) King Aśvapati Kaikeyi says : "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress."

RELIGION

The Mantra or Samhitā section of the Vedas is a collection of hymns or religious songs. Their exact meaning is semetimes obscure. Orientalists associate them with nature-worship. The three important powers mentioned are Fire (Agni), Wind (Vāyu), and the Sun (Surya)—the three vital elements in nature on which depends man's life on earth. These powers are personified as deities who control the orderliness of nature as seen in the succession of the seasons and of day and night. The higher powers demanded devotion of the early Āryans. Other deities are also mentioned. In those early days Śiva and Vishnu were not prominent. Ushā, or Dawn, is described as "a blushing maiden pursued by the sun, her lover." Indra and Varuna are among the major gods. Indra, who later occupied the celestial throne, was the protector of the "Āryan colour" and the destroyer of the "dark skin." He was also the thunder god, who "discharged the waters after slaying the serpent and cleft the caverns of the lofty mountains." The chief characteristic of Varuna was his unswerving adherence to higher principles. He was the god of righteousness and the guardian of justice. A man could never hide his cunning and falsehood from him. He was the invisible "third whenever two plot in secret." But he is willing to forgive the repentant sinner. Almost every hymn to Varuna ends with a prayer for forgiveness.

> "If we have ever sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend, or comrade,
>
> The neighbour ever with us, or a stranger, O Varuna, remove from us the trespass.
>
> O Varuna, whatever the offence may be which we, as men, commit against the heavenly host
>
> When through our want of strength we violate Thy laws, punish us not, O God, for that iniquity."

Varuna was the custodian of ritam, which, as we have noted before, was conceived of in the Vedas as preserving the cosmic order both in the realm of the physical and of the moral. It is a common characteristic of all the gods.

The gods governed the universe, which owed its very existence to them. Heaven, the abode of the gods, earth, the dwelling-place of men, and the intermediate plane, constituted the three worlds. Human values were affirmed, never denied. Men prayed for prosperity, sons, and cattle. Almost all the teachers of the Knowledge of Brahman mentioned in the Upanishads were householders. Men were completely dependent on the gods, and the latter were very fond of them. As the gods ruled by righteousness, men, in order to win their favour, had to be righteous. The pious were taken, after death, to heaven, described as "white light," and the wicked consigned to "abysmal darkness."

Monotheism, monism, and ritualism characterize the Vedic religion. They flourished simultaneously. The Vedic monotheism does not posit a supreme God ruling over other deities. It rather implies a power that works behind them all. This power is a principle immanent in all the deities. The Rig-Veda says: "To what is one, the wise give many a name; they call It Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan." This power is more of a philosophic than a religious concept. It was conceived of as the infinite, omnipotent, and ethical authority born of ritam, or orderliness. It was personified under different names, such as the All-doer (Viśvakarmā) and the Father God (Prajāpati). Sometimes one name, sometimes another, came into prominence.

The Vedic monism is a definite philosophic concept. The world is not to be traced to the action of an extra-cosmic Creator. It is the unfolding of a single, primordial cause. The world, without beginning or end, goes into periodic manifestation and non-manifestation. The cosmic process has been described as the "breathing-out and breathing-in" of the World Soul, the systole and diastole of its heart. Creation is a dynamic or self-evolving principle requiring no outside power to guide or shape it. In a famous hymn of the Rig-Veda (X.cxxix.1-30.) mention is made of "that One" (tadekam), devoid of all anthropomorphic concepts.

"Then there was neither Aught nor Nought, no air nor sky beyond.
What covered all? Where rested all? In watery gulf profound?
Nor death was then, nor deathlessness, nor change of night and day.
That One breathed calmly, self-sustained; nought else beyond It lay.
Gloom hid in gloom existed first—one sea, eluding view.
That One, a void in chaos wrapt, by inward fervour grew."

This principle is not to be identified with insentient nature, because consciousness is its very stuff and not a later emergence. Nor is it to be identified with the "substance" of pantheism, because it is transcendent as well. The Purusha Sukta of the Rig-Veda (X.xc.1.) says: "Having evolved the world on all sides, it extended beyond by the length of ten figures."

Ritualism developed from a simple to a complex ceremony. The Indo-Āryans propitiated the deities through sacrifice, or yajna, which has been defined as the offering of oblations for their satisfaction. Prayers for happiness here and hereafter were accompanied by a simple gift of rice or barley and clarified butter. As the rituals became complex, the Brāhmins' power was enchanced and the words of the Vedas assumed greater significance. The Vedic hymns began to be regarded as so powerful that the sacrificer did not have to beg the gods to bestow favours upon him. He could coerce them to give him whatever he wanted. In other words, the Vedas were regarded as more powerful than the gods themselves. The magic or incantations which are found mostly in the Atharva-Veda and were generally confined to the lower strata of society and had nothing to do with this enhanced power of the scriptures.

But the Upanishads lodged protests against the claims of the sacrifice and the new power exercised by the priests. It was pointed out that the heavenly happiness attained through sacrifice was the result of an action and therefore followed the law of causality, bearing fruit only as long as the momentum supplied by the cause endured. The highest bliss lay outside causation, consisted of knowledge, and was not the result of any action. The discovery in man of an indestructible element called Ātman and the knowledge of its identity with Brahman constituted freedom. Several non-Brāhmins appear in the Upanishads as teachers of this knowledge. But the Upanishads did not really deprecate rituals. These were held necessary to purify the mind and create the mood for meditation on Brahman. According to the Vedic tradition, the Vedas contain a single system of thought. Being the result of revelation, one part of the Vedas cannot contradict another. The Upanishads are not a mere appendage of the Vedas; they are their essence and they show the direct way to man's salvation. The Mantra section of the Vedas is the basis of the later Hindu religious systems.

THE UPANISHADS

The spiritual philosophy of the Indo-Āryans is contained in the Upanishads, which are the epitome of the Vedas. This philosophy is India's enduring contributian to the world. It has supplied Hindu society with a spiritual foundation for the past forty centuries or more. The Upanishads teach Brahmavidyā, the Knowledge of Brahman or Ultimate Reality, and Ātmavidyā, the Knowledge of Ātman or the Self. Different commentators have explained the texts to prove that Ātman is either identical with Brahman, or a part of it, or entirely dependent upon it. But all agree that man's highest good is attained through the Knowledge of Ātman and Brahman. This Knowledge was highly treasured by the Indo-Āryans. They would not barter it for any material thing, not even for the whole earth filled with riches.

The Knowledge set forth in the Upanishads was transmitted by the qualified teacher (guru) to the competent disciple (śishya). The teacher had to be well versed in the Vedas and their auxiliaries (śrotriya), and illumined by the experience of Brahman (Brahmanishtha); he had to have control over his senses (dānta) and mind (śānta). He was to be sinless (avrijina), free from wordly desires (akāmahata), and an "ocean of compassion" (dayāsindhu). Humility was for him an indispensable virtue. The *Taittirīya Upanishad* (1.2.) describes the teacher asking his disciple to listen with respect to those who are greater than himself, telling him also that his own example should be followed in so far as his conduct was above reproach. The pupil regarded the teacher as father—superior to his earthly father, because he gave the pupil his spiritual birth by showing him the way out of ignorance.

The three methods followed by the student for the attainment of knowledge were hearing (śravana), reflection (manana), and contemplation (nididhyāsana). Since the Vedas contained the testimony of previous seers of truth, they were to be studied with reverence. Next the student was to apply reason in order to find out whether or not the Vedic statements were correct. Lastely he had to contemplate the truth with single-minded devotion and thus assimilate it. The validity of knowledge was judged by means of scriptural evidence, reasoning, and personal experience, the last giving it the stamp of certainty. These three acted as checks and counter-checks on another, like the legislature, judiciary, and executive in the American government. Since, according to the Vedas, ultimate reality is supramental, reason can merely indicate it but not demonstrate it. Direct experience (aparoksha-anubhuti) reveals the final reality. But the reality thus revealed must not contradict reason or the universal experience of humanity. Through self-control and concentration the mind acquires an inwardness by which the supramental reality is immediately apprehended.

Three important virtues required of a student were reverence (śraddhā), austerity (tapasyā), and self-control (saṃyama). He was required to cultivate discrimination, detachment, power of concentration, and an unwavering desire to pursue the goal till its final realization. Truthfulness was a highly prized virtue. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (IV. iv.) narrates the story of Satyakāma, who, when asked about his father by the teacher, made the devastating confession that neither he nor his mother knew who he was, as before his birth his mother, a young woman, had had to serve many people. The teacher was pleased and said that none but one of a Brāhmin's seed could utter such a brutal truth. The most important discipline on the part of a student was the observance of brahmacharya, or continence, through which he acquired not only strength of body and mind but also a subtle power to understand the Vedas and retain their meaning. The dasyus, or non-Āryans, were ridiculed as śiśnadevah, men of loose sexual habits.

The daily study began with an invocation, the teacher and pupils participating. They prayed for health, mental vigour, and mutual harmony. Here is a Vedic invocation :

"May Brahman protect the preceptor and the disciple. May Brahman bestow upon us both the fruit of knowledge! May we both obtain the energy to acquire knowledge! May what we both study reveal the truth! May we never cherish any ill-feeling towards one another!

"May the different parts of my body, my tongue, prāna, eyes, ears, and my strength, and also my other sense-organs, be nourished! All indeed is Brahman, as declared in the Upanishads. May I never deny Brahman! May Brahman never deny me! May there never be any denial on the part of Brahman! May there never be any denial on my part! May all the virtues described in the Upanishads belong to me, who am devoted to Brahman! Yea, may they all belong to me!

"Peace! Peace! Peace!"

The exhortation of the teacher to the students to lead a life of harmony is given in the Rig-Veda Samhitā (X. cxci. 3-4):

"Common be your prayer; common be your end; common be your purpose; common be your deliberation! Common be your desires; unified be your hearts united be your intentions; perfect be the union amongst you!"

The Vedas were learnt by rote. There are Vedic prayers asking for memory. The Rig-Veda describes the students repeating their lessons in concert, with up-lifted voices, after the teacher, like frogs after the first shower. But a mere memorizer is ridiculed as a living pillar (sthānu) or a mere bearer of burdens. The study is to be followed by reflection and meditation. The *Taittirīya Upanishad* (III. 1.) speaks of Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, approaching his father for instruction about Brahman. Varuna says to him: "That from which all these things are born, by which all things, after they are born, live and move, and into which they finally merge—know That to be Brahman. Find this out by meditation."

After completing their studies, the pupils performed a ceremony known as the samavartana, took leave of their teacher, put an end to the vow of celibacy, and entered the householder's life. The Taittiriya Upanishad (I. xi. 1-7) describes the following parting advice given by the teacher:

"Say what is true. Do thy duty. Do not neglect the study of the Vedas. Bring to thy teacher his proper reward. Do not cut off the line of children. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from duty. Do not neglect what is useful. Do not neglect greatness. Do not neglect the learning and the teaching of the Vedas.

"Do not neglect the sacrifices due to the gods and the fathers. Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god. Let thy father be to thee like unto a god. Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god. Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god. Whatever actions are blameless, they should be respected—not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee—not others. And there are some Brāhmins better than we. They should be comforted by thee by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith—with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to any conduct, in that case conduct thyself as brāhmins possessing good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, as brāhmins who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty, thus conduct thyself.

"This is the rule; this is the teaching. This is the true purport of the Vedas. This is the command. This shouldst thou thus observe. Thus should this be observed."

Even after forty centuries, a speaker could use these words in a commencement address before the most enlightened university of our times.

What do the Upanishads teach? They teach the Knowledge of Brahman, the unchanging Reality behind the universe, the Knowledge of Ātman, the immortal Essence in man, and the identity of Ātman and Brahman. This Knowledge destroys a man's ego and desires and liberates him from bondage to unreality. The Upanishads also teach that knowledge about the phenomenal universe is necessary and important, since it leads to the Knowledge of Ultimate Reality. The *Mundaka Upanishad* (I.i.4.) insists on the attainment of both knowledge about the phenomenal world and the Knowledge of Brahman. The *Iśa Upanishad* (9.) says that those who are attached to ignorance enter into darkness, but into a greater darkness enter those who worship knowledge alone. One should know both ignorance and knowledge. By means of ignorance one overcomes disease and death, and by means of knowledge one attains to immortality. The word ignorance here means the knowledge about the phenomenal world.

Brahman, according to the Upanishads, is pure consciousness, described by the negation of all empirical attributes, unknowable through words, senses, or mind, and experienced in silence. It is also immanent in the universe: "Everywhere are His eyes, everywhere is His mouth, everywhere are His arms, and everywhere His feet. He is the Creator of earth and heaven. He is one and without a second."

The Upanishads teach the immortality, the non-duality, and the divinity of the Soul. "The Self is not born; It does not die. It has not sprung from anything; nothing has sprung from It. Birthless, eternal, everlasting, and ancient, It is not killed when the body is killed. . . The Self, smaller than the small, greater than the great, is hidden in the hearts of all living creatures. A man who is free from desires beholds Its majesty through tranquillity of senses and mind and becomes free from grief." (*Katha Upanishad* I.ii. 18,20.) The divinity of the Soul is the spiritual foundation of freedom and democracy.

In the Upanishads is formulated the doctrine of karma and rebirth, according to which the law of cause and effect governs not only the thoughts and actions of a man's present life, but his entire phenomenal existence. The good and evil of the present life are explained by actions in the past, and the good and evil of the future by the actions of the present. Neither the fiat of an extracosmic God nor the force of an inscrutable destiny determines a man's life on earth. He inherits his present tendencies from his own past, heredity and education helping him to unfold them. But he has a certain freedom to use the materials with which he is endowed at birth. "The cards in the game of life," to quote Dr. Radhakrishnan, "are given to us. We do not select them. They are traced to our past karma, but we can call them as we please, lead what suit we will, and as we play, we gain or lose. And there is freedom." The doctrine of rebirth, governed by the law of karma, is a necessary corollary of the Vedic doctrine of the soul's immortality.

The Upanishads teach the unity of existence. "All that exists is verily Brahman." "He goes from death to death who sees multiplicity in It." (*Katha Upanishad* II.i.10.) The unity of existence is the spiritual foundation of ethics and of all moral action.

The Upanishads reveal the secret of peace. A man attains peace by knowing "the One who is the eternal Reality among non-eternal objects, the only conscious substance among apparently conscious objects, who, though non-dual, fulfils the desires of many. Eternal peace belongs to the wise who perceive Him within themselves—not to others." (*Katha Upanishad* III.iv.13.)

The Upanishads teach how to experience deathlessness even while dwelling in the perishable body. Desires and attachments, created by ignorance, bind the Self to the body and make It the victim of birth and death. "When all the desires that dwell in the heart fall away, then the mortal becomes immortal and here attains Brahman." (*Katha Upanishad* II.iii.14.) Through the Knowledge of the Self a man attains to immortality. Therefore it is to be realized here on earth, not in an after-life. A seer of the Upanishads, having tasted this immortality, proclaims it to all living beings: "Hear ye children of Immortal Bliss!—all that dwell on earth or in the celestial planes—I have known the Great Spirit, luminous as the sun and free from darkness. By knowing Him alone does one transcend death. There is no other way to immortality."

Indian history is divided into several periods: Vedic, post-Vedic, Buddhistic, Islamic, British. Between the Buddhistic and Islamic periods was a period of intense Hindu revival. It was during the Vedic period that India reached her greatest glory in the realm of Knowledge and Spirit. Many of the laws that govern the social and religious life of the Hindus today are inherited from the Vedas.

To summarize the general features of the Indo-Aryan culture during the Vedic and subsequent periods:

The universe is a spiritual entity sustained by spiritual laws and evolving to a spiritual end. Worldly values are important but the perfection of the individual is the goal. Spiritual leaders like Rāma, Krishna, Śankara, Rāmānuja, Chaitanya, and Ramkrishna are India's national heroes. The enjoyment of legitimate material pleasures is the general rule, but the virtue of renunciation is extolled. India teaches the world how few possessions are needed to enrich the inner life and produce true contentment. The ideal king has always been Rāma of the *Rāmāyana*, who gave up his throne so that his father might not deviate from truth, risked his life to rescue his beloved consort from the prison of an evil king, and at last, when his subjects murmured against her, banished her to filfil his duty as a ruler.

Philosophy and religion have worked in harmony in India. Both supply important disciplines for the realization of truth. Philosophy trains the mind, and religion the emotions. From the philosophy of the Vedas have evolved the later philosophical systems of India. Even some of the non-Vedic systems were studied with respect. The Indian attitude toward other religions has been characterized by broadmindedness and reverence. Religions are so many paths to reach the one goal of God-consciousness. Hinduism does not prescribe one religion for all, but it insists that everyone should have a religion. It has never accepted the exclusive claim of any religion to perfection. Single-minded devotion to one's own faith and respect for the faith of others have always been its message. True to this ideal, India has allowed Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism to flourish side by side with Hinduism.

The social life of India has always been gay and lively, but not vulgar. Art and poetics have moved in a wide arc, depicting the grotesque and the sublime, the horrid and the ludicrous, as well as the tender and the beautiful. Religious practices have included both uncouth rituals and abstract meditation.

The educational system has been characterized by many preferences and little exclusion. The *Harshacharita* describes a royal visit to a university in the seventh century after Christ. While approaching the institution the king perceived from a distance a large number of "Buddhists from various provinces, perched on pillows, seated on rocks, dwelling in bowers of creepers, lying in thickets or in the shadow of branches, or squatting on the roots of trees; devotees dead to all passions, Jains in white robes, mendicants, ascetics, followers of Kapila, Lokayātikas (materialists), followers of Kanāda (the atomic school), followers of the Upanishads, students of law, students of the Purānas, adepts in sacrifice, adepts in grammar, followers of Pancharātra, and others besides—all diligently following their own tenets, pondering urging objections, raising doubts and dissolving them, expounding etymologies, and disputing, discussing, and explaining most points."

In the guidance of society the laws of service and sacrifice prevailed. Duty preceded rights. The spirit of cooperation was extolled over competition. The evolution of political systems recognized the local needs and peculiar instincts of different groups. The policy of self-adjustment and arbitration was followed in the communal life. Healthy ideas were borrowed from abroad, but all such ideas were cleverly Indianized. The new was rung in without ringing out the old.

Duty taught men the art of self-discipline. The leaders of society disdained physical pleasures and took delight in study, teaching, prayer, meditation, and an austere life. The Bhagavad Gītā (XII 20.) describes a wise man as being endowed with compassion for all, discrimination, and detachment, calmness in prosperity and adversity, and the longing to commune with the Infinite.

The Vedic ideals already described have been reinterpreted and modified from time to time to suit changing conditions, but without a breach of continuity. One remarkable characteristic of India is that even during the height of her material power she did not send armies of invasion outside her boundaries. On the coutrary, bands of missionaries of her culture went to Tibet, China, Japan, and the other countries of the Far East, and in the West influenced the cultural life as far as Egypt and the Balkan States. As long as India was politically free the life and culture of the people were dynamic. But with the loss of that freedom, conservatism and stagnation set in. The Bhagavad Gītā (XVIII.78.) says tnat the prosperity, success, moral order, and all-round welfare of a nation are preserved as long as the spiritual authority and the royal authority cooperate with each other.

All societies possess by nature certain elements of imperfection. The history of social evolution is the struggle of society to approximate itself to eternal truths. When a society is loyal to these truths it endures. But when it drifts away from them for the sake of expediency or temporary advantage, it perishes. In a clash between society and truth, it is society that must bow before truth, and not otherwise.

The Vedic culture was intellectual and spiritual. Despite its many achievements, it was an exclusive culture. Their exclusiveness was its weakness. Its main pillars were priests and philosophers belonging to the brāhmin caste. They enjoyed the power. They, and their descendants were protected by all kinds of laws promulgated by themselves. The brāhmins ruled by knowledge and claimed and maintained a monopoly over it. They alone had access to knowledge. During this period of the brāhmin domination were laid the foundations of the sciences.

Europe made a different social experiment. During the days of its greatest power, the kshattriyas, or kings and military men, were the leaders of society. They were less exclusive than the brāhmins, but often harsh, tyrannical, and cruel. Though they themselves were not always intellectual, yet they created conditions for the development of the arts and sciences.

The United States of America is trying the rule of the vaiśyas, or those representing wealth and ecomomic interests. The one great advantage of this system is that it has none of the exclusiveness of the rule of the priests and philosophers or of the military class. It is a democratic system. Merchants go everywhere in search of trade and thus become good disseminators of the ideas created by other cultures. But this system has a tendency to discourage men of genius and dampen the spiritual sensitivity of the people. The culture shows signs of decay.

The inexorable march of events may make yet another experiment. The śudras, or manual labourers, may come into power. If they succeed, there will be a distribution of physical comforts for all. There will be equality on material levels. Ordinary education will be universal, but extraordinary geniuses very few. As the energy and resources of society will be devoted to producing creature comforts, higher cultural values will be neglected.

Humanity, now passing through a period of travail, awaits the coming into existence of a new world order. Our minds and hearts are alternately gripped by fear and cheered by hope. Will it be possible to create a world civilization that will keep intact the past achievements and the present hopes of human society the knowledge of the priestly and philosophical period, the artistic and scientific development of the military, the democratic spirit of the commercial, and the pledged ideal of equality of the proletarian—minus their shortcomings? If that can be done, the failures of the past and the gropings of the present will not have been in vain.

Humanity is confronted with various ideals, all brought into sharp focus by the reawakening of national consciousness in various parts of the world. Domination, by one ideal, of all the rest will only prolong the cultural conflict. The way out of this tension seems to lie not in regimented uniformity but in an orchestrated unity. It appears that the emerging world culture, to use a different illustration, should be a mosaic in which the distinctive characteristics and healthy features of all cultures will remain to enhance the beauty and the value of the whole. Neither ruthless extermination nor forcible superimposition, but all-inclusiveness and harmonization, have been the time-honoured ideals of India.[2]

---

[2] The writer of this article is indebted, for some of his information, to *An Advanced History of India*, by Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, and Dutta, London, Macmillan & Company, 1946, and *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, by M. Hiriyanna, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949.

ALDOUS HUXLEY—A STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT

AMALENDU DASGUPTA

Mr. Aldous Huxley is fifty-five now, and considering his progressive deterioration as a fictional writer since the publication of his best novel *Point Counterpoint*, it seems unlikely that he will again strike a new and significant patch in creative writing. *Ape and Essence*, brilliant as it is, is slight as a novel, and repetitive of his earlier works. And his recent pre-occupation with *Yoga*, with occasional spells of work for the films, does not inspire much hope among the admirers of his novels, short stories and poems. It would, therefore, be reasonable to suppose—this however is always a large assumption in the case of creative writers—that the time has come for a total valuation of Mr. Huxley's achievement.

Aldous Huxley is primarily an intellectual and the development of his art is intimately connected with the development of his ideas. Novels of ideas are seldom great art, but then Huxley is too detachedly intellectual not to know this. Philip Quarles in *Point Counterpoint*, who is supposed to be the author himself, says : "The great defect of the novel of ideas is that it's a made-up affair. Necessarily ; for people who can reel off neatly formulated notions arsen't quite real ; they are slightly monstrous. Living with monsters becomes rather tiresome in the long run." "But then," Quarles adds, "I never pretended to be a congenital novelist."

Huxley's ideas are concerned with his search for what he calls "the whole truth" and his constant endeavour has been to "render adequately, in terms of literature, that infinitely complex and mysterious thing, actual reality." This basic fact explains the amazing change of his attitude towards spiritual values and religion, as also his failure to write a completely satisfying novel, with the probable exception of *Point Counterpoint*.

Two strains of development ran parallel in Huxley's early life and work ; one was an intellectual and predominantly sceptical awareness of contemporary values, and the other was a sensuous passion for *life*, primarily in its physical content.

The sceptical attitude found expression in brilliant irony in his early novels like *Crome Yellow* (1921) and *Antic Hay* (1923), particularly in the latter. *Crome Yellow*, Huxley's first novel, showed him to be an admirably promising fictional writer in his grasp of technique and psychological observation. It is not as serious or ironical as his later novels, but has more grace.

Antic Hay is more indignant in tone than *Crome Yellow*, and more intense. It is a record of the meaninglessness of contemporary life, its senseless diversions and pointless pursuits, and is marked by a note of angry disgust which is expressed in bitter irony. Gumbril has a vague vision of beauty and goodness, but in the life around him finds only stupid efforts to escape from the post-war frustration. As a "natural historian of humanity," Huxley realistically studies the human specimens of the Jazz age, and writes of their pathetic deficiencies with almost brutal candour.

The next novel, *Those Barren Leaves* (1925), a little less known than *Antic Hay* or *Point Counterpoint*, is wider in scope, but somewhat uncertain in treatment. It is weaker in action than his other novels, but its inherent duality, resulting from his new interest in sympathy and tenderness jostling with his satiric temper, gives it a special interest.

The new self-consciousness of *Those Barren Leaves* is a minor turning-point in Huxley's development. He was probably getting a trifle tired of writing of the futility of contemporary life, and his next important work, *Jesting Pilate* (1926), is a book of travels. The notes on his travels are delightful for their pleasant humour and acute observation of men and things. But his critical attitude never leaves him and makes his diaries more than mere narrative. He found the architecture of Tajmahal lamentably poor; the bathing ceremony at Benares provoked the remark: "If I were an Indian millionaire, I would leave all my money for the endownment of an Atheist mission." An intellectual aristocrat, Huxley revolted against any exhibition of stupidity and vulgarity wherever he went.

The travels probably made him seriously interested in problems of social life which are treated in his next book *Proper Studies* (1927). The book lacks warmth and vigour; his search for "experimental reality" in social relationships is not particularly stimulating. D. H. Lawrence wrote of *Proper Studies* in a letter to Huxley: "You are not your grandfather's *Enkel* for nothing—that funny dry-mindedness and underneath social morality. But you'll say I'm an introvert, and no fit judge. Though I think to make *people* introverts and extraverts is bunk—the words apply, obviously to the direction of the consciousness or the attention, and not to anything in the individual essence. You are an extravert by inheritance far more than *in esse*. Wou'd have made a much better introvert, had you been allowed."

Point Counterpoint (1928) makes one inclined to believe that Lawrence's rebuke did Huxley a lot of good, for it is a novel which is not only formally beautiful but has great intensity of emotional experience. Huxley seems to have realized that if he were to be a successful creative writer he must transform his intellectual curiosity and alertness into an organic vision of life. The main theme of the book is epitomized in the quotation from Fulke Greville, which he used on the page following the title-page: "Passion and reason, self-division's cause." Against the major theme of self-division is the subsidiary theme of wholeness which provides the counterpoint. The exponent of wholeness is Mark Rampion, a fictionalised D. H. Lawrence. (Lawrence himself, however, found Rampion "the most boring character in the book—a gasbag.")

Between Mark Rampion, the embodiment of wholeness, and Bidalke, Webley, Sprandell and others, all victims of self-division, stands Philip Quarles, or Aldous Huxley himself. Philip Quarles states Huxley's problem when he says: "The problem for me is to transform a detached intellectual scepticism into a way of harmonious all-round living." This has been Huxley's problem all his life, and for the moment he saw its solution in Rampion's ideal of wholeness.

Point Counterpoint is Huxley's high-water mark as a novelist, and since its publication, his fictional writing has followed a steady downward curve. The major defect of Huxley's novels is a diffuseness of interest arising out of his failure to integrate adequately his ideas with his characters through action. It is also partially the result of his concern for the *total* reality which he describes as the "whole truth." His art is not "chemically pure," for he is not concerned with the concentrated essence. In an essay in *Music at Night*, entitled *Tragedy and the Whole Truth*, he expounds the distinction between the literature of partial truth, *e.g.*, classical tragedies, and the literature of the whole truth, like the *Odyssey* or the works of Proust, Lawrence, Andre Gide, Kafka and Hemingway. Huxley says that these latter writers do not shirk the irrelevancies which in actual life always temper the situations and characters "that writers of tragedy insist on keeping chemically pure."

In this essay, however, Huxley states only the partial truth. To compare a dramatic tragedy with an epic or a novel is wrong, for these art-forms are basically different. Secondly, even in a novel or an epic there must be some selection somewhere, if there is to be any art-form at all. Thirdly, great art has the power of absorbing *apparently* irrelevant things; but after the transmutation these do not appear as irrelevancies at all. Lear's request to undo the buttons is an integral part of the dramatic effect Shakespeare produces; in a lesser dramatist this might well appear as irrelevant.

The fact is that in his eagerness to tell the whole truth, Huxley has often introduced irrelevancies which he has not been able to absorb into his art. Real irrelevancies are always a defect.

Point Counterpoint, however, is largely free from such irrelevancies; it is also free from Huxley's usual failure to strike a balance between ideas and action. It is this balance which has produced the complex structural unity of the book. His habitual irony is shown in its most moving forms in it; moving, because of the author's deep interest in the living human beings tortured by self-division.

Perhaps, Lawrence was right in his criticism of Mark Rampion, for, despite Philip Quarles' interest in his ideas, Rampion remains a poor foil to the sceptical Quarles, a shadowy moral preceptor to the frustrated men and women. Huxley, nevertheless, was deeply interested in Rampion's ideas, and gave a complete exposition of the philosophy of whole living in *Do What You Will* (1929). The doctrine of life-worship, based on the life and ideas of D. H. Lawrence but less anarchic than Lawrence's philosophy, recognises the supreme importance of the art of living. And, "if one would live well, one must live completely, with the whole being—with the body and instincts, as well as the conscious mind." Huxley goes on to say that to live, the soul must be in intimate contact with the world, must assimilate it through all the channels of sense and desire, thought and feeling, which nature has provided for the purpose. To the life-worshipper exclusiveness is a sin; "his doctrine of moderation demands that one excess shall be counter-balanced by another."

But how to live this whole life in the modern world? Huxley replies that the only satisfactory way of existing in the modern, highly specialized, world is to live with two personalities, an intellectual Dr. Jekyll and an animal Mr. Hyde. "Only by living discretely and inconsistently can we preserve both the man and the citizen, both the intellectual and the spontaneous animal being, alive within us. The solution may not be very satisfactory; but it is, I believe now (though I once thought differently), the best that, in modern circumstances, can be devised."

This was in 1929. That the formula was not very satisfactory Huxley realized shortly afterwards. By 1932 he was disillusioned about the success of this formula in the contemporary and the future world, and in *Brave New World* (1932) he expressed his deep pessimism. He realized that the modern civilization would not turn toward sane living; it valued comfort above experience, security above adventure, arbitrary rationalization above nature. The Savage says: "I do not want comfort. I want God, I want poetry, I want real danger, I want freedom, I want goodness, I want sin." But the fulfilment of these wishes Huxley could not foresee. *Brave New World* is a novel of despair.

Huxley began to turn to other directions for his personal salvation. He again wrote of his travels, and went on groping in darkness. *Eyeless In Gaza* published four years after *Brave New World* is a record of this search. As a novel it is not considerable, but it indicated the shape of his future beliefs.

Congenitally, Huxley is a sceptic. In his early years, materialism seemed to him a satisfactory rationalization of his sceptical attitude. But it is doubtful if Huxley ever seriously considered materialism to be a complete explanation of life and the universe. As his vision widened, he began to recognize the *facts* of mystical and religious experience. Pascal's experience was as much a fact as Voltaire's and Huxley would not shut his eyes to facts.

Religious conviction grew during the years 1933-36, and in 1937 *Ends and Means* appeared. The basic fact to remember about Huxley's religious belief is that it is born of his awareness of "the whole truth." All his writings since *Ends and Means* have tended to confirm the belief that religion has never been a passionate faith with him; his distrust of the intellect too is intellectual.

The fundamental thesis of *Ends and Means* is that the end cannot justify the means for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced. Huxley discusses some of the means which must be employed if we are to achieve the end which the prophets and philosophers have proposed for humanity—a free and just society. The first essential for this purpose is the practice of non-attachment which, Huxley warns us, is not a negative state of apathy but a positive state of goodness, charity and disinterested work. Any method of social reform which involves violence must be eschewed, and all reforms must begin with the individual, must start at the periphery and not at the centre. Nationalism, one of the most potent causes of war, must be substituted by decentralization of political and economic power sustained by self-governing communities. Education will have to be liberalized, and so forth.

These are not new ideas. The ideal of non-attachment, as Huxley states, has been upheld by Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity and is enunciated in the *Bhagavat Gita*, " perhaps the most systematic scriptural statement of the Perennial Philosophy." In recent years the ideals of non-violence and decentralization have been practised by Mahatma Gandhi. But the importance of Huxley's book is in its practical approach, its competent analysis of the applicability of these ideals to the complex structure of modern life. It has been aptly described by its author as a " cookery book of reform " ; it is Huxley's most important contribution to social thought. Its basic ideas have been reiterated in his recent book *Science, Liberty and Peace*.

Ends and Means is also important as the best exposition of Huxley's religious belief. That a man who wrote *Jesting Pilate* could have written *Ends and Means* appears incredible, but ~~it~~ shows the author's elasticity of mind and intellectual sincerity. In the chapter on *Beliefs* he discusses the inadequacy of sense experience for a total knowledge of the universe, the limitations of the organs by means of which we establish direct communication with the outside world. Huxley admits that the philosophy of meaninglessness of his early life was an instrument of liberation. He now discovers a meaning in the scheme of things, but points out that final conviction can only come to those who make an act of faith. This act of faith is in no sense illogical to make, for systematic training in recollection and meditation makes possible the mystical experience which is a direct intuition of the ultimate impersonal spiritual reality.

Beliefs sustain ethics and belief in the spiritual reality is the guiding inspiration for, as well as the result of, the cultivation of the moral virtues. The chapters on *Ethics* and *Religious Practices* complete Huxley's exposition of his new ideal.

Since the publication of *Ends and Means* Huxley has been more a preacher than an artist, and the novels that have followed suffer from the predominance of the didactic element. Both *After Many a Summer* and *Time Must Have a Stop* are strange hybrids between the novel and the sermon. Characterization is shadowy and the central theme is brought out not by action, but by a chorus-like character, Mr. Propter in *After Many a Summer* and Bruno in *Time Must Have a Stop*. The message of these novels may be salutary in themselves, but the message is not integrated into a pattern of experience ; the fictional-didactic problem makes the novels artistically weak.

After Many a Summer, nevertheless, has considerable force of satire on the technological progress of modern civilization devoted solely to providing physical comfort to soulless men and women.

Ape and Essence, Huxley's latest work, is unsatisfactory as a novel ; it is hardly a novel at all. It can be better described as a satirical romance. The imaginings are brilliant and macabre, and one almost feels that the author derives a morbid pleasure in writing about the gruesome future that awaits humanity if the forces of nationalism and technological progress are allowed to develop on the present lines. The book is unsatisfying both as an artistic work and a moral message. Apart from the formal defects—the plan of the film-script and the journey into the cactus desert and all that—there is the gravest fault of all, an underlying sense of irresponsibility, notwithstanding the fierce farce and the lurid description of the Kingdom of the Devil. There is some deficiency somewhere, probably in the plenary inspiration, and when one finishes the book, one becomes neither deeply worried over the trends of the modern civilization which will lead to the consequences Huxley predicts, nor inspired by the path he indicates for reaching the Kingdom of God. By this is not meant that Huxley's picture of the future doom which will result from the third World War, is purely fanciful ; nor is his diagnosis of our malady wrong or his ideal of good life hollow. But Huxley does not write about the problem with the complete sincerity of passion that it deserves. There is an inherent lightheartedness in his approach, the irresponsibility of a " precocious adolescent " in considering a gigantic problem.

Religious conviction should not be a liability for a creative writer ; many of the world's greatest literary works are inspired by passionate, in some cases dogmatic, religious faith. But Huxley's vision of the Kingdom of God is strangely unconvincing in comparison with his vision of the Kingdom of the Devil. It appears that religion has remained an intellectually held conviction with him, not a passionate and complete faith pervading the whole being. A sceptic turned mystic, Huxley is still a slightly disinterested spectator of human agony. He entertains us, even stimulates, but does not elevate. *Yoga* has probably killed the animal Mr. Hyde, but Dr. Jekyll remains an intellectual, interested in religion, but not, like Tolstoy or Rolland, inspired by it.

NOTES ON RABINDRA NATH'S HRIDAYA-JAMUNA

S. N. SEN, M.A., B.COM. (LOND.), A.C.A., A.S.A.A.

It has been proposed that some of the masterpieces of poet Rabindra Nath Tagore should be published in Devanagri for the purpose of assisting the non-Bengalee admirers of the poet in their study of his immortal works. We do not minimise the advantage of transliteration. But if our language is imperfectly known to some of our friends belonging to other provinces, how far a mere change of script will resolve the difficulty must remain a matter of speculation. Moreover, if for the fuller appreciation of Kalidas and Shakespeare, commentaries on their works are in demand even among scholars who have adequate knowledge of Sanskrit and English, annotated edition of at least an anthology of Rabindra Nath Tagore might now legitimately seem to be overdue. This last point having been mooted to Dr. C. E. Raven by the writer of this article, the President of the Tagore Society of Cambridge remarked that it was an interesting proposal which he would bear in mind and discuss with his Committee and that Indian Scholars would do well to follow it up. English as the medium of this commentary will not only have a wider appeal than any Indian language under the prevailing conditions but will also be of greater assistance in dispelling haziness in the mind of the reader relating to the import because of the wide divergence in the structure and vocabulary of the languages of the original and the commentary.

In the following pages a feeble endeavour has been made to assist the reader in the study of one of the masterpieces of the poet—হৃদয়-যমুনা (Hriday Jamuna).

THE SUBJECT-MATTER

The poet depicts Jamuna as the symbol of the river of love—love can be put to different uses, ranging, as it does, from the little affection that goes to make the domestic ties of the work-a-day world to the soul-transfigurating experience that annihilates the Self. The poet broadly divides the range of love into four distinct stages and devotes a stanza to each of them.

It is interesting to note that this recognition of the difference in the voltage of love when the poet was in his early thirties reached its fullest development and final fruition in his novel, Shesher Kabita, thirty-five years after...

In Shesher Kabita the poet insinuates that the literary career of even a first rate poet, if it is to be honest, should be short. Even a literary genius, the poet opines, exhausts his stock of ideas in a few years and endeavours to maintain his reputation thereafter by purloining from his own earlier writings. This confession, however frank, should not be accepted by the discerning critic at its face-value.

There is no denying the fact that, for instance, the subject-matter of দুই নারী in বলাকা (1321 B.S.) forms the core of the poet's novel দুই বোন many years after or that the Turkish Bath experience of the progressive temperatue of love in হৃদয়-যমুনা is really the central theme of the sheaf of ideas presented in Shesher Kabita. But this superficial resemblance in subject-matter instead of corroborating the charge of plagiarism, really furnishes the observant critic with a literary electro-cardiogram of the development of the poet's head and heart. The later treatments, it will be noticed, are usually marked with greater intellectual maturity and a non-chalant disregard of the conventional solutions of social problems. The startling suggestion of a dual affiliation in affairs of the heart in Shesher Kabita is marked with an exotic boldness compared with which the conventional approach of হৃদয়-যমুনা appears to be almost pastoral in its simplicity. But more of this later, when we have explained the poem in full.

STANZA 1

(1) যদি ভরিয়া লইবে কুম্ভ—The imagery of the pitcher has been repeated by the poet in Shesher Kabita. In that book, contrasting ethereal love of Labanya with the work-a-day affection of Katie Mitra, Amita Roy says, Labanya is like a pond where you can go for an occasional dip, but Katie is like a pitcher of water, infinitely smaller but certainly necessary for the utilitarian purposes of the work-a-day world. What the poet means to convey is that a little love, a little sympathy, is the cement that makes the family-tie. Without it the family, and in the last analysis even society, would disintegrate. But it is a far cry from this to the great love that inspires transfigurating spiritual expansion of the soul. The pitcherful of water thus represents the small love where utility is the trade mark, where love is subject to prudential considerations.

(2) এসো ওগো এসো মোর হৃদয় নীরে—Come to the river of love that is in my heart.

(3) তলতল ছলছল কাঁদিবে গভীর জল ওই দুটি সুকোমল চরণ ঘিরে—In your daily need of little love, the river of love will reach no higher than your ankle but the deeper waters of self-annihilating love (*cf.* যদি মরণ লভিতে চাও in the last stanza) crying for realisation (কাঁদিবে গভীর জল) will find an opportunity for establishing contact with you.

What the poet means to convey is that our little loves of daily need give us increased opportunities for the realisation of ethereal love. This standpoint of the poet, which is also the standpoint of social conservatism, underwent, as we shall show at the conclusion of these notes, a radical change in later years.

(4) আজি বর্ষা গাঢ়তম, নিবিড় কুন্তলসম মেঘ নামিয়াছে মম দুইটি তীরে—Circumstances are propitious. Both in Sanskrit and Bengali literatures the rainy season is conventionally the season for fulfilment of the yearnings of love. In olden times, both warfare and the primitive economic pursuits being impossible in the severity of the tropical rains, menfolk used to return home on the eve of the rains and thus the clouds brought with them the promise of re-union. The approach of monsoon was therefore as much a matter for general jubilation among wives as among peacocks.

(5) ওই যে শবদ চিনি, নূপুর রিনিকিঝিনি—The telepathic communication between the lover and the beloved at once establishes the character of the wayfarer from so attenuated an evidence as the jingling of the tinkling anklet. The reference to the anklet is subtly suggestive of the eligibility of the wayfarer to amorous advances. Identification of a mother or a sister by the jingling of her anklet is somewhat unconventional in literature.

(6) কেগো তুমি—This interrogation immediately following the positive assertion that I recognise you (ওই যে শবদ চিনি) is really no invitation to the prosecuting counsel in the court of love to question the trustworthiness of the witness in the box. The tinkling of the anklet fixes no more than the genus of the approaching woman as a lady-love. It does not even fix the species, that is, in which of the four ways of love she should offer worship. The inquisitiveness of the lover in কেগো তুমি is only for closer identification.

(7) একাকিনী—The worship of love can only be a personal, not a congregational, worship.

(8) আসিছ ধীরে—The slow, measured gait is indicative of the seriousness of the approach. The irresponsible rush for an impulsive union is altogether ignored in the poet's classification of love.

Stanza 2

(9) যদি কলস ভাসায়ে জলে—Subjecting prudential considerations to the ruling passion of love. The pitcher, symbolising prudential considerations as we have said above, is to be left at the mercy of the water which is the symbol of love.

(10) বসিয়া থাকিতে চাও আপনা ভুলে—The suggestion of partial self-effacement is to be contrasted with the all-out endeavour for annihilation of the Self described in the concluding stanza. Forgetfulness of the Self in আপনাভুলে might have been indicative of the highest consummation of love but it is, as it were, mellowed down by the passivity and detachment of merely sitting on the bank of the river of love (বসিয়া থাকিতে চাও).

(11) হেথা শ্যাম দূর্বাদল, নবনীল নভস্তল, বিকশিত বনস্থল বিকচ ফুলে—This can be best explained by quoting the concluding portion of the famous inscription of the Delhi Fort—হমীন্ অস্ত্ ও হমীন্ অস্ত্ ও হমীন্ অস্ত্—it is here, oh ! it is here. This is the most auspicious place, the most suitable atmosphere, to lose yourself in self-abstraction, subjecting prudential considerations to the ruling passion of love.

(12) দুটি কালো আঁখি দিয়া মন যাবে বাহিরিয়া—Repetition of the idea of আপনাভুলে.

(13) অঞ্চল খসিয়া গিয়া পড়িবে খুলে—An apt external representation of the state of inner abstraction.

(14 চাহিয়া বঞ্জুলবনে কী যেন পড়িবে মনে—Indicates a confused state of undefined thinking. The poet seems to suggest that when love is so attenuated as to be capable of being subordinated to prudential considerations, the mind is in a clear state of thinking. When, on the contrary, there is complete self-effacement as we shall witness in the last stanza, thinking ceases altogether. In between the two—the noon-day clarity and the midnight obscurity—there is a twilight atmosphere of love where the mind can only be set to confused thinking.

But why should confused thinking be particularly associated with চাহিয়া বঞ্জুলবনে ? The reason is that from so far back as the time of Kalidas (and even before him), বঞ্জুল-বন or বেতস-কুঞ্জ, which in prosaic language is nothing but a grove of cane-creepers, seems to have exercised a particularly baneful effect on the malady of love, like humidity on rheumatism.

(14) বসি কুঞ্জ তৃণাসনে শ্যামল কূলে—Repetition of the idea of হেথা শ্যাম দূর্বাদল etc., (see note 11 above).

STANZA 3

(16) যদি গাহন করিতে চাও—If you desire to immerse yourself in the river of love.

In the progressively poignant pictures of the influence of love, immersion is indicative of closer intimacy than has been evidenced hitherto but it still falls considerably short of the annihilation of the Self which is the highest consummation of love.

(17) নীলাম্বরে কিবা কাজ, তীরে ফেলে এসো আজ—নীলাম্বর symbolically represents the external barriers between two souls—the shapeless swathings of the multifarious ideas of propriety and impropriety, conventions and proscriptions. The lover calls upon the beloved to discard them all without a remnant as no extra-territorial authority of the dictates of social conservatism is recognised in this torrid zone of the domain of love.

It is interesting to note that with the progress of love, the beloved is successively divested of her superfluous accompaniments. The tinkling anklet of the first stanza is no more to be heard in the second. The clothing, of which special mention is made in the second, is to be discarded in the third. And the body, in which we live "in the sea of life enisled" is to be smothered in the concluding stanza as it is an impediment to the highest consummation of love.

(18) ঢেকে দিবে সব লাজ সুনীল জলে—The one ruling passion of love will smother up all the ideas of social propriety and impropriety.

This was the case of the Gopinis of Brindaban. Unfortunately the episode of the Gopinis has been so crudely dealt with by some later poets that reference to them may make confusion worse confounded. A better example is Bidur's wife. When Lord Krishna called on Bidur, in the Mahabharata, Bidur's wife, who was bathing, came out in her nakedness and, overwhelmed with the one ruling passion of friendly affection, embraced Krishna, quite oblivious of her sartorial condition. But the best example to illustrate the point without any possibility of misunderstanding, is perhaps that of Archimedes. With one foot in the bath-tub, when he suddenly discovered the theory of Specific Gravity, he ran naked through the public highway crying "Eureka, eureka," with the one ruling idea taking complete possession of his entire being.

(19) সোহাগ-তরঙ্গরাশি অঙ্গখানি দিবে গ্রাসি উচ্ছ্বসি পড়িবে আসি উরসে গলে—Wordsworth says, "The Gods approve the depth and not the tumult

of the soul." The caressing tumult of the waves of love is indicative of the fact that the unplumbed depth of the middle of the river is yet to be reached. It stands in marked contrast with the stillness of death of স্নিগ্ধ শান্ত সুগভীর নাহি তল নাহি তীর in the next stanza.

(20) কভু কাঁদে কভু হাসে—Refers to the joys and sorrows of love which are the necessary adjuncts of the present thermal stage. It demands the soul-transfiguring experience of the concluding stanza to transport one beyond the pale of emotional fluxes.

STANZA 4

(21) যদি মরণ লভিতে চাও—For complete self-effacement, for annihilation of the Self.

(22) নাহি তল নাহি তীর—Limitless.

(23) মৃত্যুসম নীল নীর স্থির বিরাজে—The emblem of death or self-annihilation.

(24) নাহি রাত্রি দিনমান—The transplantation of the beloved into the spiritual world of ethereal love will secure her emancipation even from the fluxes of natural phenomena. The call of love of Browning's "Meeting at Night" and the call of the world of action of his "Parting at Morning" will dissolve themselves in one unbroken stretch of spiritual existence. Multiplicity of interests fitted to the different parts of the day will lose themselves in the homogeneous equanimity of the soul.

(25) আদি অন্ত পরিমাণ—The weights and measures of the market-place will no longer appeal to you.

(26) সে অতলে গীতগান কিছু না বাজে—You will be beyond the pale of even the innocent pleasures of the world.

The last two lines may also mean that throughout the twenty-four hour system (নাহি রাত্রি দিনমান) limitless love, without commencement and without conclusion (আদি অন্ত পরিমাণ), will reign supreme—never seeking to find expression even in the song of love, which is indicative of the turmoil of the soul, but finding its supreme fulfilment in the stygian stillness of spiritual realisation.

(27) যাও সব যাও ভুলে নিখিল বন্ধন খুলে ফেলে দিয়ে এসো কূলে সকল কাজে—Forget the ties and experiences of your ante-mortem existence and emancipate yourself completely from them. Cut yourself adrift of the past as the earthly weights and measures of duties and responsibilities, of prescriptions and prohibitions, of little loves and hatreds, can find no place in this seventh heaven of love.

CONCLUSION

The central theme of the poem is that the river of love in the heart of the lover is capable of being put to different uses, ranging from the daily need of little love to the self-annihilating spiritual expansion of the soul, and the lady-love is invited to make use of it in whatever way she desires.

Such an offer of unrestricted option without reference to the voltage of the emotional charge in the lady-love leads the way to a promiscuous union of souls which the poet stubbornly refuses to countenance in Shesher Kabita. In Shesher Kabita, whether for the purpose of the clarity of the picture or for more glaring contrast, the four stages of love of Hridaya-Jamuna are condensed into two. The poet then opines that although each individual may be capable of passing through both the bass and the treble notes of love, the chance of the same set of two persons raising responsive resonance from heart-string to heart-string through the entire range of the symphony is very slender.

The poet recognises no horizontal classification into the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat in love's demography—the former incapable of descending to a lower emotional level and the latter incapable of rising to a higher. But he is up in arms against the accepted social system of riveting soul to soul to run the entire course of love together and advocates that the Hahnemannian doctrine of *similia similibus curantur* (like cures like) should have a sectional application in the affairs of love and a dual affiliation of each soul to suit the blunter and the sharper edges of love will yield better results.

It must be noted that the poet does not mean in Shesher Kabita that there are some exceptional souls like Labanya's and Amita Roy's which are capable of opening themselves out or being shrivelled up, like the lotus, with the profusion or scarcity of the rays of ultra-violet love. He does not mean that Shovan Lal and Katie Mitra were sensitive only to the visible range of the spectrum of love. Labanya and Amita Roy must be taken as types and generalities with only the exceptional courage to resort to a bold solution of a problem for which the unreasoning monogamist temperament of society has nothing but a mouldy, moth-eaten solution to offer.

If Labanya was a pond to Amita Roy, she was perhaps no better than a pitcherful of water to Shovan Lal. Amita Roy himself might have been a pond to Labanya but he must have been reduced to the 'dimension' of a pitcher to Katie Mitra. Katie Mitra, although she was merely a pitcher to Amita Roy, might have been capable of opening herself out like a pond to somebody else who is hidden from our view as he has no business to make appearance on a stage set for the present story.

For marriage and constant companionship the choice of our poet falls on the less inspiring personage. The reach, the poet declares, must always be higher than the grasp. And if we seek to perpetuate our occasional soul-stirring experiences by closer companionship with the person who inspires them, our endeavour is likely to be crowned with as little success as an additional dose of opium might be in reviving the dream of Kubla Khan. Our little loves of daily need instead of giving us increased opportunities for the realisation of ethereal love, are sure to bring about psychological reactions through their mundane interests and grossness which can only act as hindrances to our aspirations for the sublime.

মর্ত্ত্যের মৃত্তিকা মোর, তাই দিয়ে অমৃত মূরতি
যদি সৃষ্টি করে থাক, তাহারই আরতি
হোক তব সন্ধ্যাবেলা—
পূজার সে খেলা
ব্যাঘাত পাবে না মোর প্রত্যহের ম্লানস্পর্শ লেগে।

[From the concluding poem of Shesher Kabita]

Although we may depart a little out of our way from the original subject of discussion, we are unable to withstand the temptation of making reference to Browning for a moment in this connection. Browning's problem in such poems as "Porphyria's Lover", "Two in the Campagna" etc. also relates to the transience of the soul-stirring experiences of love. But Browning wants the moon in-as-much, as he wants to prolong or perpetuate these experiences—and failing to obtain the impossible, bewails the "infinite passion and the pain of finite hearts that yearn".

I yearn upward, touch you close,
Then stand away, I kiss your cheek,
Catch your soul's warmth—I pluck the rose
And love it more than tongue can speak—
Then the good minute goes.

……

Only I discern—

Infinite passion, and the pain
Of finite hearts that yearn.
(Two in the Campagna).

Our poet on the contrary is at peace with the world of God's creation and seeks only to modify certain social laws so that they may fall in line with the psychological realities of love. With the characteristic candour of an unbiassed social scientist Rabindra Nath admits the possibility of an occasional coincidence of the sources of great and little loves. But when Jati Shankar, taking his stand on social conservatism, wants to hold fast to the hidebound conception of this exceptional ideatity, Amita Roy sounds the note of warning that it is a theoretical possibility which is all but impossible of attainment in practice.

We can only conclude from Shesher Kabita that the poet deprecates the idea that the oxy-acetylene flame of soul-transfigurating love should be used for cooking the daily mess of pottage. Such a hodge-podge of the sublime and the common-place is not countenanced by us in any other sphere of life. The pond never takes the place of a pitcher, the open sky can never replace snug little nest. It is only in the matter of love that the unreasoning monogamist verdict of society refuses to take cognisance of the difference in voltage.

Amita Roy says in Shesher Kabita :—

"একদিন আমার সমস্ত ডানা মেলে পেয়েছিলুম আমার ওড়ার আকাশ—আজ আমি পেয়েছি আমার ছোট্ট বাসা, ডানা গুটিয়ে বসেছি। কিন্তু আমার আকাশও রইল।"

And again,

"কেতকীর সঙ্গে আমার সম্বন্ধ ভালোবাসারই, সে যেন ঘড়ায় তোলা জল, প্রতিদিন তুলব, প্রতিদিন ব্যবহার করব। আর লাবণ্যর সঙ্গে আমার যে ভালবাসা সে রইল দিঘি, সে ঘরে আনবার নয়, আমার মন তাতে সাঁতার দেবে।"

Ranging in this very same region in search of ideas thirty-five years ago, the poet had discovered an invaluable gem in the fundamental difference of the four thermal stages of love. Had he taken pains in Hridaya-Jamuna to denounce the idea of multiple affiliations in the affairs of love, we might have concluded that the poet held a different view earlier in his life. But the fact that in Hridaya-Jamuna the idea of the unity or diversity of the source of inspiration has practically been glossed over and the former supported only by implication, almost like an axiom, leads us to believe that the poet missed the point altogether at the time of the earlier composition and made a fresh discovery traversing the same domain of ideas thirty-five years after.

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION : ITS BLESSINGS AND SHORTCOMINGS

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A., B.T.

Of late there is no other topic at once more attracting and distracting than the Wardha Scheme of Education. It has occupied a distinct place both in the Press and the platform in India and abroad. While the Sergeant Report envisaged India's literacy in forty year's time, India, in her multitudinous nation-building plans after the achievement of her independance, hopes to make her entire people literate in a period even half than forty years (in 16 years according to Kher Committee). No wonder therefore that after having the opinion of the Education Ministers of the Provinces both separately and collectively, the Education Minister of the Union Government has heralded a crusade against illiteracy and proclaimed '*in extenso*' the adoptation of the Wardha Scheme of basic education. In tune with the Centre's policy and direction the provinces have been up and doing in introducing the scheme throughout the length and breadth of the country. As the entire plan is an experimental one it is too premature to call it a success and it is equally impertinent and inopportune to discard the same as a failure. Herein we will discuss in brief within the short compass the novelty and advantages as well as the pitfalls, if any, of the scheme as such without probing into details.

Of the Mahatma who was the originator of the scheme it is enough to say that he was a man of strong conviction. His faith was Himalayan. He was the most conservative as well as the most liberal in the sense that he was open-minded and frank in admitting amendments to his theories and ideas. Moreover, he gave us a philosophy of life in its entirety. So his ideas must neither be construed in fragments nor be applied in parts. They should either be accepted or rejected in toto, as his ideas are more fundamental than superficial, more basic than surface deep.

The present system of education from the primary right upto highest stage has great limitations. Average students at present get a smattering of something which may be anything but education. Surely " more than twenty years of the growing period of life spent in such aimless manner must inculcate in the pupils habits of procrastination, hesitation, irresoluteness and inability to take decisions in the pursuits of life." According to Gandhiji and all other educational reformers, education is the all-round drawing out of the best in man, and in this sense literacy in itself is no education—neither its beginning nor its end. So, Gandhiji says "the present mode of education is radically wrong from bottom to top." To be out of this rot and to get rid of the present paraphernalia, and hoax of education, the Wardha Scheme has been formulated. In fact, Gandhiji propounded his theory and wanted to give it a fair trial only with a view to wiping out the glaring defects of the present system. In his own words, "The one necessity is faith in the ideology and determination to face the task and stamp out the existing evil."

As the Father of the Nation, as the pioneer of so many great historic movements, as the founder of the principle of Non-violence-in-action, Gandhiji, like his predecessor and compatriot the great Swami Vivekananda, became restless to have in India some sort of education which must be at once *national and useful.* He thought in his own way that this education must be by means of some vocational or manual training. He learned this principle from Kallenbach, who in his turn had his training in a Trappist Monastery. And Gandhiji got some amount of experience and success of the principle when he had trained his own sons and other children in Tolstoy Farm in South Africa. His idea was to impart the whole art and science of a craft through practical training—through imparting the whole education. With the inauguration of the Government of India Act, 1935 in 1937, Congress took the reins of the administration of as many as seven provinces. Gandhiji took opportunity to place his scheme before the Ministers of Education of the Congress-administered Provinces in particular and leading educationists of the country in general. On the 22nd and 23rd October, 1937 on the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Marwari Education Society, Gandhiji was requested to preside over the function. The agenda of the session consisted of four propositions.—The first related to the *state* of the existing system, the second related to the *course* of primary education envisaged, the third was concerned with the *kind* of education to be imparted and the fourth and last was in connection with the *functions* of the State Universities. The present system of primary education was not only *defective* but thoroughly wasteful. It was proposed that the course should be extended *at* *least* to seven years, that all training should as far as practicable be given through a *profit-yielding vocation* and that state Universities should be purely *examining bodies* and *self-supporting* through the fees charged for examinations.

Corresponding to four propositions in the agenda four resolutions were adopted which constitute the foundation of the Wardha Scheme. They are: Universal, free and compulsory education for seven years; the medium of instruction should be mother tongue; it should centre round some form of manual and productive work and development of other abilities be integrally related to this handicraft with an eye to the environment of the child; and it is expected that it will gradually be able to cover the remuneration of teachers. In short, the central idea of this new scheme is 'intellectual training in and through a basic craft.

A cursory analysis of the scheme brings out five fundamental features, *viz.*, it is craft-centred, it is self-supporting, it is of seven year's duration, its medium is one's mother tongue and the correlating and consolidating string of the scheme is non-violence.

Now, to say that the system must be craft-centred does not mean that the education should be solely vocational. It simply means that it should have a vocational basis (not bias). Nay, the novelty and the differentiating mark of the scheme is herein brought into play, *viz.*, subjects like history, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, language, and even painting, music, etc. are to be taught as matters correlating the basic craft. In fact, provision must be made in the syllabus to introduce some productive manual labour, to stimulate intellect through a craft and to correlate various subjects with that basic craft.

Some manual work as the centre of education has been advocated by many eminent educationists, and the Project Method in America and the Complex Method in Russia are also craft-centred though the Wardha Scheme is much superior to either of the two. Thus it is simply good and excellent that the primary education should be basically vocational. Mereover, as to the graded steps of education suggested in the scheme it appears to be not only novel but revolutionary. For instance, in Gandhiji's own words: "The whole training will be natural, responsive, and therefore, the quickest and the cheapest in the land. The children of my school will, therefore, read much more quickly than they will write. And when they write, they will not produce daubs as I do even now (thanks to my teachers), but they will trace correct figures of the objects they see." The statement is true to its core.

Thus as to the cogency and feasibility of several features nothing is to be questioned. We propose to dwell at length on several other features which require elucidation and comment.

The most controversial factor is its self-supporting character and the schems's success or failure depends on this feature—its acid test. This factor has claimed double meaning—it will help one to be self-supporting in later life, and it is an education which in itself is self-supporting. Gandhiji means that this sort of education is an insurance against unemployment. To put it more bluntly: "You impart education and simultaneously cut at the root of unemployment". Elsewhere he has said and clarified that it is self-supporting during the sum total of seven years, and to start with, particularly during the first two years it may mean a partial loss. Thus the scheme does not claim to be self-supporting in the initial stage. In fact, "Land, buildings and equipment are not intended to be covered by the proceeds of the pupils' labour". It is self-supporting in itself in the sense that it will enable a pupil to pay for his tuition through the products of his labour. But this too is self-eluding, and if not extravagant at least an undue claim. For it has been based on the assumption that the minimum salary of a teacher to be fixed at Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 per month. This is a hopelessly meagre sum to afford a barest living subsistence even to a single man. It is once again not in consonance with the general economic level of the country. Hence this claim of being self-supporting even partially does not stand.

In fact the scheme has been planned to be self-supporting on the first assumption, that India is proverbially a poor country and there is no other way to carry education to the crores of our children and to make it at once free and compulsory unless it is made so. This has been emphasised to such an extent that it has been considered to be the 'raison d'etre' of the idea. But this is not true. Our contention is that money must come from some source or other, and pupils must not be forced to think, work and learn that the price of the product of their work would cover their tuition fee even at a later date.

Next question that crops up in this connection is:—If it is presumed that the scheme is free from the parents' side and paying from the pupils' side, and if it is presumed that it is self-supporting in later part of a pupil's learning and for the sum total of seven years even assuming a teacher's pay to be only Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 p.m., the question is yet left unanswered what is the guarantee that all pupils will be equally fit or at all fit to produce products just to cover their tuition fees. It has been argued in support of the scheme, that the stage will buy the products of the children's labour. But the State cannot buy these for nothing, nor can it store them only to destroy at a later date as we had destroyed lot of food grains during the early rationing period. The ultimate consumers will be the people and they must purchase them at their market price.

It is no good suggesting that because they are the products of the labour of our children they must be purchased at a rate ten or hundred per cent more than the market price, as the patriotic people had purchased one piece of Khaddar or one chatak of salt during the hot Swadeshi movement. Not to speak of its propriety it is no economics at all. For to use Gandhiji's words "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth the name must at the same time be also good economics."

Thus unless this question is solved the self-supporting character of the scheme falls to the ground once again. Indeed, the Mahatma himself has hinted at the sourse of income when he asserts, "We cannot wait until we have the necessary revenue and until the Viceroy reduces the Military expenditure." So, if the then Viceroy could not reduce the military expenditure, our present free and national Government would surely curtail expenditures in dozen heads and must find out other sources of money to provide free and compulsory primary education to the children of the soil. Thus our own present Government will be working under a false presumption and a faulty apprehension in their attempt to make the free primary education self-supporting in this restricted sense. Moreover, Gandhiji did not mean exploitation in any sphere. Hence his reluctance to tax the people for educational expenses. Here he is consistent enough in view of his entire scheme. But unfortunately to-day the public are being taxed and exploited in hundred and one way more than they were in the pre-independence days under the British regime. Hence, it has more pertinently been asked 'If England and America spend millions on education, why not India?' Surely, if they have reduced the art of exploitation to a science, India, of late, has explained it in terms of nation-building purposes and to cover up the post-partition reverses. Nay, parents may even voluntarily contribute to the education of their sons if the latter become really fit in life and can reasonably contribute to their family after the end of their education. In this respect then, this spontaneous sacrifice of a part of their income may not be termed 'taxation' even in its proper sense. It is not, however, placing one wrong to put an end to another and have its justification. It is just arguing against the partially self-sufficient character of the scheme.

The second assumption is that the success of the Wardha scheme depends on its teachers. While selecting the right type of teachers it claims to have them of the social type. By this it again means that the teachers working under the scheme must be people who are imbued with a patriotic favour, who are local people, who have identified their interest with that of the school and who have no other future save and except the future well-fare of the students themselves. The scheme thus envisaged that "The teacher leaves in the same village and works in the same school with the feeling that the village and its school are his own and that their progress and prosperity are his personal concern." So, here so many claims have been made and false presumptions suggested. And unless these factors are fulfilled the scheme will not succeed. Moreover, to ask these type of teachers to work on a petty pittance of Rs. 25 per month is to demand of them more than patriotic services. No man can render any service worth its name on such remuneration, least so in the execution of such a grand and noble scheme. And yet we are asking credulous young men to render such patriotic and voluntary services which are nothing less than self-sacrificing and even starving. But we should bear in mind that patriotism cannot be coerced, nor can we have this type of teachers either by conscription or by persuasion.

We are thus faced with a knotty problem that, while attempting to relieve some (parents) we are taxing some others (teachers), and subsequently we will see further that we are taxing the former too in a later stage indirectly and in a round-about way. In other words, whatever relief is offered in persuasion is withdrawn under compulsion if not in deception. This does not speak for good morality and integrity.

As to the future of the existing staff of primary school teachers the dilemma has so often been put: If these teachers continue, the Wardha Scheme will be a failure, and if they are sent out they will swell considerably the numbers of the unemployed. It is up to our Governments to rebut it.

The school-going age of people under the Wardha Scheme has been calculated to be between 7 and 14 and the duration of the course of primary education has been fixed to be seven years or more. Thus to complete the primary course of the original scheme a pupil may attend even 15 or 16 years of his age. And this has its justification because the Wardha School aims at the Matriculation Standard as it covers all the subjects up to the Matriculation Standard except English *plus* a vocation. No wonder, therefore, among the teaching staff it has provision to absorb even graduates. Times without number Gandhiji has put it: I have included secondary in primary education . . . For the moment the primary question is solved, the secondary one of college education will be solved easily. It is obvious then that under the scheme primary covers the present primary, middle and secondary, while secondary has been identified with the higher, *i.e.*, College education.

Here a difficult problem comes in: If the pupils in a Wardha primary school are to spend the prime period of their lives up to Matriculation-age, will the Provincial Governments and the existing Universities give them the same opportunities as they are being offered to Matriculates? Will the future avenues be left open to them (even according to their choice and proficiency in the basic craft), and will their status in life fetch their parents and family the same degree of relief in shape of money as in the parallel spheres? If not, it is a bad investment on the part of the parents to send their children to the schools under the scheme and a bad morality on the part of the State to set up such schools at an initial non-recurring cost of several thousands of rupees either at Government expense or public donations and to induce the parents to send their children to such institutions raising high hopes. It is bad economics on the one side and bad morality on the other. Gandhiji himself points out: "An economics that enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak is a false and dismal science." There must be more harmonious and uniform policies of the Government in all other directions in conformity with the application of the Wardha Scheme in a nation-wide scale. Otherwise it is not enough to be eloquent in preaching Gandhiji's ideas and ideology. Nor it is good to profess one thing and practise something different. Equally it is neither wise nor expedient to attach importance to some portions of a great scheme and to omit or suppress some other. So, from our leaders and administrators, we at least expect that amount of sincerity and open-mindedness as Gandhiji himself had. It is obvious that none is more confident in the scheme than its maker himself. But as to its plausibility he himself says, "I approach the task in confidence but in all humility with an open mind and with the will to learn and to revise and correct my views whenever necessary." There is thus much truth in the saying that because the scheme has emanated from Mahatmaji it has gained that attention and importance which it otherwise might not have secured. May this be a pointer to those who are out to excute the plan by setting up schools.

But Gandhiji has given us a philosophy of life which is neither rigid nor compartmental, but a living whole, and all his plans big or small, economic, social or educational are directed towards the realisation of this truth. He has so often said that his own life is an experiment in truth and non-violence. So, his integrity and consisteney are never questioned. He is the last person to impose and thrust anything on his people, nor is he after carrying anything by storm. What is questioned is its successful workability. Thus to conclude the present discussion in Mahatmaji's own words: "The scheme should be accepted after full and mature consideration so that it may not have to be given up after a while." We may not think that our Governments, Central and Provincial have accepted it only to reject it at a subsequent date. We may not even doubt in their integrity and may not think impertinently that they haven't considered its pros and cons. Our humble contention is only this that before registering our whole-hearted allegiance to the excellence of the scheme (which it has got in an extraordinary manner) in categorical and unequivocal terms the relevant issues must be solved and allied questions answered.

PROBLEMS OF MODERN HISTORY*

Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.

(Department of History, Calcutta University)

I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the Modern Section of the Twelfth Session of the Indian History Congress. For me it is more than a mere conventional profession of diffidence for the little light I have been able to throw on some corner of Modern Indian History does not entitle me to the honour you have bestowed on me. I thank you again from the bottom of my heart.

The modern period of Indian history with its overwhelming mass of materials has its own peculiar problems. The Court of Directors believed in transacting official business by the written word. Excessive noting and writing also characterised the administration that succeeded that of the Company. This abundance of records enables us to survey their work with the eyes of contemporaries. We can recapture the atmosphere not only of the early twentieth century but also of the nineteenth and the eighteenth and understand the passions that swayed the minds of men. But such plentiful material is available only about the British in India, not about the Indians themselves. Until late in the nineteenth century when the Indians began to write more fully about themselves our knowledge of Indian life is comparatively scanty. The British began to run things in the British way and did not learn to run things in the Indian way and never got into the Indian mind and the Indian habit of thought. The official records appear to be very full but they throw only fitful lights on those in India who did not come into contact with the British.

Of the history of Bengal from Plassey to the Permanent Settlement we know the minutest details of the doings of Clive, Verelst, Cartier, Hastings, Philip Francis, John Shore, Macpherson and Cornwallis from official records and other papers. We have besides almost a complete picture of the social life of the Englishman in India. We also know much about Mir Jafar, Mir Qasim, Md. Reza Khan,

---

* Address delivered as President of Modern History Section of the Indian History Congress, held at Cuttak in December, 1949.

Nandakumar, Nabakrishna and others who came into contact with Englishmen. I read the records of the Mayor's Court, the Supreme Court, the Sadr Dewani and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat preserved in the High Court of Calcutta in the hope that these papers might give much useful information about the Indian world on which other official papers do not throw any light. But before the advent of the British the Indians were not a litigious people and this habit spread as a consequence of the activity of the Supreme Court. Mohan Prasad, who accused Nanda Kumar and Amirchand (Omichand), the dupe of Clive—familiar names in the early judicial records—were not typical Indians of the eighteenth century. Any one who traces the evolution of British judiciary in India must set on its debit side this growth of the spirit of litigation that reached such enormous proportions in later times.

I, therefore, felt as I read the records that there is much that eludes me with the result that I am unable to grasp some of the vital processes of Indian life. I feel that not only ancient and mediaeval records but also the records of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century are starred with lacunae. Attention has been focussed on "those nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery who sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bhang, fondling concubines and listening to buffoons." But Murshidabad was not the centre of Bengali life nor did Calcutta with its vulgarity and commercialism represent Bengal of those days. The chief characteristic of rural life was contentment with the environment. G. M. Trevelyan thus refers to the liberties and opportunities that resulted from isolation: "Absence of means of communication did more for human freedom than Magna Carta . . . . the fact of local isolation protected many things, individual and excellent permitted to survive not on principle but by neglect." Inspite of changes wrought by British administration these 'pockets' guarded by privilege and neglect continued until a much later period. It would be possible with the aid of historical imagination to reconstruct from the survivals in later years the life that our ancestors lived in the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. Contemporary literature would be helpful.

It has been suggested that the history of British India should be written again on the basis of private memoirs. I have read some of these memoirs and I can assert that if British Indian history be thus re-written it would not be the history of India in the modern period but a very interesting cross-section of British social history. As I read the memoirs of William Hickey, the opulent eighteenth century Calcutta attorney, I was struck by his complete lack of interest in the country. There are in his memoirs only a few references to clerks, clients, servants and mistresses. I read *Both Ends' of the Candle* written by Denison Ross. It conveyed to me the impression of European irritation at the growing uppishness of the natives. Lord Hardinge's *My Indian Years* shows clearly the limitations of this type of work. His were the days of Tilak and Annie Besant but they are mentioned only glancingly. With the improvement of communications England came nearer to India and the British officials brought with them to India all their prejudices and conventions. Those Indians who came into contact with them imitated the manners of Englishmen. Unlike John Shore, Thomas Munro and Mountstuart Elphinstone of the glorious days of the East India Company English officials of later days never felt the strain of balancing between two civilizations. The spiritual boundaries of India were set too far back for them. There were very few British people in India in later years who could say like H. Beveridge—"India has burnt itself into me." They normally lived an incurious life in their own comfortable circle. How can their private memoirs help us ? Most of them cannot supply the deficiency of official records.

Our greatest handicap is our inability to express ourselves in a common language. We have to use English as our medium. But our literary style is naturally undistinguished. How much style matters in history is seen from the influence of Macaulay whose want of perspective, balance and breadth has been forgotten in the blaze of glory. His articles on Hastings and Clive have distorted the views of generations of Englishmen on India.. With his superiority complex he could understand only the vulgar aspect of Indian life, was incapable of understanding its finer shades and was unaware of its ultimate values. As against writers of this type we should depend upon the knock down effect of veracity. Research and more research should be our motto. Clarity of presentation should make up for lack of imperishable words until we succeed in perfecting a common language with a rich vocabulary and phraseology under the intellectual stimulus of a new sense of nationhood.

I would now like to draw your attention to the different stages that mark the advance of modern Indian historical studies. At the beginning some distinguished servants of the East India Company naturally took in hand the task of writing the history of India in the modern period The magnificent success of the British inspired but did not intoxicate them. The history of those Indian powers who failed in the clash of arms with the British was described by these authors not without sympathy and understanding. Mark Wilks, Grant Duff, James Mill, Davey Cunningham can each claim for himself the merits of patient and laborious investigation and of original and independent judgment. With the possible exception of Mill on certain individuals we do not find in these historians any conscious prejudice. They also utilized all the advantages of contemporary or semi-contemporary writing. Even if their works are jettisoned there will remain much of value and their names will ever be honoured in the world of historical scholarship. They had each of them an inspiring theme and their perspective was enlarged rather than distorted by the lens of propinquity.

The next stage of modern Indian historical studies was marked by a different approach. The first generation of English historians had made an attempt to understand India. But in the later years of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth greater narrowness and self-sufficiency characterised British writing on Indian history. We should not go so far as to assert that modern Indian history became the victim of conscious or unconscious propaganda. That would be doing a great injustice to such historians as Hunter, Firminger and others. But what one knows naturally receives undue attention on account of adjacent obscurities. The approach was essentially un-Indian. Moreover, England's work in India had lost its first fine rapture and the fulfilment of British power in India was not such an inspiring theme as the rise of it.

Indian contribution to modern Indian history has been very inconsiderable and the modern period of Indian history, as we have it, is the history not of the Indian but of the Englishman in India. When we began to write our own history a different approach became inevitable. But our work on the modern period suffers from lack of courage and vigour. Work on an ambitious scale is difficult because the historian has then to look for a considerable portion of his materials in the archives in England. The knowledge that a vast mass of materials exists which he cannot fully utilize without incurring very heavy expenses serves as a brake on enthusiasm. This is perhaps responsible for a tendency to 'pottering,' to go on from one detail to another without trying to formulate conclusions. No doubt a complete assemblage of the smallest facts tells in the end and monographs and dissertations would prepare the ground for more ambitious works at some future day. But the tendency merely to produce materials has been carried perhaps rather too far. R. C. Dutt's *Economic History of British India* reached the highest standard inspite of incomplete data. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* combines a wide sweep with the closest attention to minutiæ and the fullest collection of all available data. There are many inspiring themes and sympathy and warmth should enable us to understand better and interpret more correctly the history in India in the modern period than it has been possible for outsiders to do. Even at this stage the Indian historian should be capable of doing more than merely the mechanical portion of the historian's job.

I would now deal with the problem of rewriting modern Indian history. A nation's identity is rooted in the consciousness of its history. A new stage in a nation's growth is accompanied by a rewriting of its history with special reference to the episodes that are regarded by it as vital. Nothing can justify smart writing or *a priori* reconstruction and there is always the proviso that the work should be done by historians proper and not dictated by politicians. The concensus of opinion regards the Rebellion of 1857 (the Mutiny) as one such episode on which much new evidence is accumulating or has accumulated. We were taught to think that this momentous event was due to greased cartridges, the annexation of Oudh, the low percentage of European officers, the weakening of regimental discipline, the first Anglo-Afghan War, Indian prejudice and priestcraft provocation by bureaucratic politicians and bureaucratic soldiers. Those who are prone to generalize would describe it as the protest of tradition against innovation, of the old order against the new. But it is difficult to get away from the feeling that Lord Dalhousie summed up in himself all that led to that great upheaval. He was an efficient administrator with a very mean nature which, more than any other thing, brought about this upheaval. The administrators at that time had to choose between two points of view. One school of opinion asserted, "We are deeply bound to treat them kindly because they are down." The reply was, "I will endeavour to give every man his due . . . . . . more than this no one should expect." But man's sense of justice is very fallible and as men in power are very seldom conscious of their weaknesses it would have made a world of difference if the policy of generous treatment had been preferred to the policy of so-called just treatment. I am inclined to think that the great upheaval of 1857 was not inevitable. The trend of events had already pointed to the transfer from the Company to the Crown. That memorable event only hastened the process as much as the Bengal famine of 1770 had hastened the decision of the Company to stand forth as the Dewan. Though it was not inevitable it happened so and it wears all the inviolable sacredness of the accomplished fact.

I would in this connection also point out the irreparable damage that has been done by oversimplification of history. The object of history is to know and understand the past in all its aspects. Only in that sense can it be the basis of our education in the humanities. But our study of the recent past has been very lopsided for we have looked upon it too much from the British point of view. After the British conquest of India British administration became the most important factor of Indian history. But we have simplified the tangled skein of human affairs by making it the central theme and attaching significance only to those facts that help to develop it. Many other facts that have been ignored are more significant than the details of British achievement in politics and administration on which we have concentrated. I would give only a few illustrations.

In Ahmad Shah Abdali's expedition of 1757 the Muslims suffered most from this fellow Muslim because they had most to lose. The agony of Delhi under the Afghan terror, the bastinade of eminent Muslim noblemen from which they could only be rescued by Hindu bankers, the virgin tribute which was extorted from the imperial family should serve as an eye-opener to those who look upon the subsequent battle at Panipat as a triumph of the Muslims combined against the Hindus oblivious of the service of Ibrahim Khan Gardi and his devoted band to the Maratha cause. In the Khudabaksh Library at Patna there is a beautiful Persian Ms—*Hisabnama Fouj-i-Ranjit Singh* which gives a fragment of the pay roll of the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The formidable array of Muslim names in the artillery branch shows the important part played by them in the regular army of the Maharaja. The *Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records* confirms this fact. These Muslim artillerymen fought faithfully for the Sikh state in the battles of Ferozshuhur and Sobraon and were largely responsible for the terrible artillery fire of the Sikh army which in the words of Subadar Sitaram, who fought for the British in this campaign, was like *bursat* (rains). Mr. Darling in his recent book *At Freedom's Door* describes a journey on horseback from Peshawâr to Jubbalpur before the advent of Indian Independence. In the course of his tour he met Muslims who for generations had the genealogies kept and horoscopes cast by Brahmins and passed villages owned by Muslims and Sikhs or by Hindus and Muslims springing from common ancestors and even came across one village in which Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were of the same tribe. It is oversimplified history that has bred fanaticism and helped propaganda and must be held responsible for the shame and misery and horrors of our recent past. The evils of a little history have been terrible. We should have more history rather than less. It would contribute to the growth of human understanding. A general history of India should not be merely a succinct summary of results. It should be the record not of what has happened but of what has mattered. The nation's sense of its environment and its heritage has not been fully developed by the lopsided manner in which modern history has been presented.

I hope you will not consider it presumptuous on my part if I say something about contemporary history. Mr. Churchill says in his *Second World War* Vol. I—" I do not describe it as history for that belongs to another generation. But I claim with confidence that it is a contribution to history which will be of service to the future." It is very necessary to write the history of India of the last 30/40 years—the more modern period. There is some compensation in proximity. We know much better the passions and feelings of the time. It is impossible to attain a high standard of scholarship on topical subjects. It is easier to write about the more distant past because the attrition of time eliminates a part of the evidence. But inspite of the handicaps if historians do not write the history of recent events that which history leaves out will be filled by partisan propaganda. Misrepresentation will then get a start and a long one. I would in this connection refer to the fallacy of our belief in written evidence. In the shaping of events atmosphere is more important than the written word. As an illustration I would refer to the relations between a departmental Secretary and a Minister. A generation after the historian may not know that most elusive factor—personality. As he would examine the records he would find that in ninety cases out of hundred the Minister merely agreed with his Secretary. The conclusion that the Secretary shaped policy would be justified from the records. But it may be that that official in his anxiety to please his chief is responsible for only such noting on the files as would accord with his wishes. Excessive reliance upon written evidence afflicts all historians and only contemporary history can be to some extent free from this affliction. If the sources of a historian are sufficiently complete he can never be too close to his history. But if the means of judgment are not provided as in the case of Sidney and Beatrice Webbs' book on Soviet Russia it falls very short of the mark. In the particular case inspite of the attainments of the authors it has become an eminent example of speculation not founded on data. In recent years selective documentation and objective, painstaking, faithful presentation of materials of contemporary history have become fashionable. The works of Chatham House combine with an intensive study of all relevant papers strict accuracy, a scrupulous sincerity and justice in comment. But this is not enough. As a critic of their publication *Soviet Foreign Policy* points out the problem of the historians is to write a book which shall be accurate and interesting. The problem is not solved by writing a book that is merely accurate. Thucydides wrote contemporary history, took great pains to collect facts through travel and conversation. He sought the truth in all sincerity, and Europe derives from him the tradition of history as a science of facts and as an art appealing to the readers.

This brings us to a consideration of the history of our own national struggle. We are perhaps too near the theme of the epic to be able to write it. But the next generation will miss the actual passions of the past and will stumble along the trail trying to reconstruct its scenes and revive its echoes. When all the impersonal factors are set out a large gap still remains. Even policy is made by methods so normally human and much depends on unrecorded conversations and upon likes and antipathies of the most elusive nature. Some of the great men who have played their part in the national struggle have given us a first hand record of it but there are many others who have remained silent. It would be doing a great service to the cause of history if arrangements are made to collect this evidence that will disappear with them. A planned procedure would be necessary and the work must be done on a regional basis. It is only in this way that we shall be able to give to future generations the atmosphere of the national struggle of the twentieth century.

Research work in the field of modern Indian history was hampered because libraries were rare, archives were secret and documents were scattered. The state of things has improved. Particular mention may be made of the process of reproduction which has been perfected. At this stage it is necessary to have full descriptive catalogues in the different record offices that would enable scholars even in distant places to take up subjects of all-India interest without being compelled to rush from one record office to another and stay for a long period in each place. But unless the India Office records become available to us here research workers in the field of modern Indian history cannot achieve the success they are anxious to achieve.

Scientific method will control and the national spirit will quicken the work of historical research by scores of toiling students only if Governments and Universities help to make the task of collection of materials much less difficult than it is now.

Before I conclude I would like to add a few words on the scope of research on the modern history of Orissa. I am not competent to throw new light. I am only aware of the possibilities. During the period 1757-1803 Orissa under the Bhonsles occupied a very important strategic position. It was a wedge between Bengal and Madras preventing communication by land. It necessitated safeguarding of Bengal's frontier from predatory Maratha inroads. In the British diplomatic records in the National Archives of India there are many papers that testify to British interest in Orissa during these years. This chapter on the history of British diplomacy from Clive to Wellesley makes very interesting reading. The country was very little known inspite of the fact that the British had begun their trade in the Bay in Orissa. Anthony Polier's map based on surveys in 1762-1763 merely traced the country from Balasore to the Ganges. Thomas Motte, "Free merchant" was sent by Clive in 1766 to ascertain whether the Marathas would cede Orissa in return for an annual tribute and to open a trade in diamonds with the Raja of Sambalpur. He made an interesting route-survey from Cuttack to Sambalpur. Yet Pearse who took an army from Bengal to Madras in 1781 thus describes the journey through Orissa: "I am passing through a country as little known as if it were in the midst of China, a country that seems made up of the shreds and fragments of a world in Dame Nature's shop."

Orissa's importance in the political sense ended when it came under British sway. But more interesting than political history must be the history of the feudal organisation and the peasant militia which had once been the pride of Utkal and had achieved remarkable triumphs in an earlier period. The history of their decline must also be very instructive. The Bhonsles had a benumbed existence after 1773. Yet the feudal aristocracy of Orissa and the peasant militia failed to shake off the yoke though they made the position of the Marathas as precarious as possible.

The British as traders advanced from the Spice Islands to the mainland of India, from the Coast to the Bay, from Balasore to Hughli and from Hughli to Calcutta. But I do not think any very satisfactory account of British trade in Orissa under the Mughal and Maratha rule can be given from extant materials. The personality of the 'faithful' Narayan, the company's broker at Balasore, attracts but he was too modest a figure to achieve fame. Job Charnock's sack of Balasore was more to the taste of the diarist and the chronicler.

I can only plead for a very thorough and systematic utilisation of all available records of Orissa, official and unofficial. The lack of thrilling incidents in the 19th century is an advantage because there were very few historical persons or sensational happenings that could divert the attention from sober history. Any one who has examined historical records in Government archives in a thorough fashion must have been impressed by one characteristic of early British administrators in the 19th century. In matters in which they were interested they tried to secure all possible information, historical and statistical. On pre-existing local customs and on processes that led to later developments they supply unexpected information. A patient student of Orissa records is in a position to make enduring contribution to the economic and social history of the Province.

CAUSERIE ON LETTERS

M. M. Desai, M.A.

Professor of English, Central Hindu College, Benares Hindu University

(1)

Gone are the days of letter-writing in this era of hurry and bustle, noise and nerves, mass hysteria and doctored news and views, telephone calls and radio communications. Letters can take us through all the gamuts of emotions and record various experiences of man on the individual and personal level not on a mass production basis But the modern tendency to streamline our sentiments and air-condition our emotions is harmful to the composition as well as the enjoyment of genuine letters which fundamentally demand a free and spontaneous expression of one's thoughts and emotions. Letter-writing is not an art of intellectual gymnastics with one eye on the recepient of the letter and the other on its future reader (posterity). Letters are soliloquies on paper and their reading is an enjoyable excursion combining instruction with amusement. They often reveal the pettiness and greatness of man, taking us sometimes through the highways and byways of history and biography, revealing the comedies and tragedies of life.

Fine arts—literature known as *belles lettres* is one of the fine arts—are part of culture which is essentially a product of leisure. We in modern times have lost the art of enjoying leisure and consequently the artistic and artless products of leisure. Good letters are composed often by leisurely minds and it is claimed that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave the world's greatest letters since it was an age of leisure. In English literature there are such master letter-writers like Cowper, Horace Walpole, Boswell, and Lamb belonging to that age. Masters of fiction like Richardson gave us that now defunct form of novel known as the epistolery novel. In that age there was a universal craving to give and receive news and it bred chiefly one type of correspondence—the leisurely news letter such as Madame de Sévigné's letters to her daughter and the recently discovered Boswell's garrulous letter to Temple on his visit to Voltaire. Horace Walpole's letters were chiefly the equivalent of the modern news-paper news and gossip columns. Madame de Sévigné's letters to her daughter and Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son are good specimen of the epistolery art in French and English literature. They express the spirit of the salon and voice the sentiments of an aristocrat dominated society. But letter-writing is essentially a democratic if not universal form of expression. Where life has been lived intensely, it has almost always been recorded intimately and consequently led to great letter-writing. All great men do not necessarily write great letters and all who write great letters are not necessarily great men. It is a gift of self-expression which every great man does not possess. Christopher Columbus wrote a pompous, verbose travel letter after a momentous journey in 1492. Michael Faraday whose epoch-making researches for the applications of electricity to modern industry proves that though one may be able to summon up at will the principles of electro dynamics and the influence of the magnetic field on polarised light one cannot necessarily synthasise the elements whereof a love letter is made. Here is a letter he wrote to Sarah Barnard who became his devoted wife for many years:

"Royal Institution, Thursday evening
[December, 1820]

MY DEAR SARAH,

It is astonishing how much the state of the body influences the powers of the mind. I have been thinking all the morning of the very delightful and interesting letter I would send you this evening, and now I am so tired and yet have so much to do that my thoughts are quite giddy and run round your image without any power of themselves to stop and admire it. I want to say a thousand kind and believe me, heartfelt things to you, but am not master of words fit for the purpose; and still, as I ponder and think on you, chlorides, trials, oil, Davy, steal, miscellanea, mercury, and fifty other professional fancies swim before me and drive me further and further into the quandry of stupidness.

From your affectionate
MICHAEL."

The great biographies of the Victorian age were entitled Life and Letters of so-and-so who was great, near-great, or pseudo-great, born great, achieved greatness or greatness was thurst upon him. These biographies were often written either by the son, the wife, the brother, the nephew, the friend, or the disciple of the man, a sort of solemn literary *shrada* and they contained letters galore, instructive very often pompous not seldom, throwing a flood of light upon the men and their age. We have also private letters published in autobiographies, a very fascinating branch of literature, and those private letters from often the most fascinating branch of autobiography. They often reveal the noble and the petty dwelling in the same habitation.

When any person humble or great has a soul-shaking experience he can write a letter about it. The chances are such a letter written on the spur of the moment hot from the crucible of experience will be dramatic and memorable. Learned tombs have been written on the qualifications that make for effective letter-writing. Some favour the compact, some the terse, some the allusive, some the witty, some the gossipy, some the leisurely, some the inspired, and some the heroic mode of expression. The fact, however, is that there is no rule of thumb mode of letter-writing, no critic-concocted recipe of letter-writing as there is none for novel-writing or play-writing. The life giving quality of letters is found in the simplest test—the ability to transfer on paper an experience, an emotion, or an idea. A good letter may be and often is a free gossiping on paper. There may go to the great doyen of literature in the eighteenth century, that robust intelligence which in its very defects had the granite quality of substance and solidity. Dr. Johnson, who robustly asked Boswell to clear his mind of cant (and who can deny that we, of the modern age, have allowed lots of cants to clutter up as so many bats in our belfry to-day), said to Mrs. Thrale something wise about letters in a letter:

"Dearest Madam,

You talk of writing and writing, as if you had all the writing to yourself. If our correspondence were printed, I am sure posterity, for posterity is always the author's favourite, would say that I am a good writer too. To sit down so often with nothing to say: to say something so often, almost without consciousness of saying, and without any remembrance of having said, is a power of which I will not violate my modesty by boasting, but I do not believe every body has it.

Some, when they write to their friends, are all affection: some wise and contentious: some strain their powers for efforts of gaiety: some write news, and some write secrets: but to make a letter without affection, without wisdom, without gaiety, without news, and without a secret is, doubtless, the great epistolic art.

In a man's letter, you know, Madam, his soul lies naked, his letters are the only mirror of his heart. Whatever passes within him is shown undisguised in its natural process: nothing is inverted nothing distorted: you see systems in their elements: you discover actions in their motives.

Of this great truth, sounded by the knowing to the ignorant, and so echoed by the ignorant to the knowing, what evidence have you before you? Is not my soul laid open in these veracious pages? Do you not see me reduced to my first principles? Is not this the pleasure of corresponding with a friend, where doubt and distrust have no place, and everything is said as it is thought? . . . These are the letters by which souls are united, and by which minds naturally in unison move each other as they are moved themselves. I know, dearest Lady, that in the perusal of this, such is the consanguinity of our intellects, you will be touched as I am touched. I have concealed nothing from you, nor do I expect ever to repent of having thus opened my heart. I am, etc.

Samuel Johnson."

Taine stated his famous determinist formula that literature is determined by three general causes, the *race*, the *milieu* (physical or historical), and the *moment* (weights of the anterior development, pressure of what is, upon what wishes to be). For the appreciation and valuation of the epistolery art it is necessary to consider the letter-writer, his recepient and its *raison d'être*. Letters are often corrective for pompous Clio the muse of history and epic poetry. Letters give us great lives at their most glorious, their most characteristic moments. Letters make the most fascinating reading in the world, especially the private letters of other people. In letters the dark corridors as well as the loftiest towers in the hall of fame give up some of their inviolable secrets. Voltaire wrote, "The post is the consolation of life." This opinion is corroborated by William James who stated. "As long as there are postmen, life will have a zest." George Jean Nathan asserted, "the public will always give up its dinner to read love-letters." Christopher Morley says, "It is chiefly—perhaps only—in letters that one gets the mother-of-pearly shimmer inside the oyster of Fact." To quote a solitary adverse opinion on the habit of letter-writing the American philosopher and author of the essay on "Civil Disobedience," from whom Mahatma Gandhi borrowed his famous idea for resistance to evil, Thorean who was an individualist stated, "As the inner life fails, people run desperately to the post office" and he further affirmed that he had not in all his life received more than two or three letters that were worth the postage. These are rather strange sentiments from a man who himself wrote such frank and honest letters of self-disclosure.

In this age which suffers from a craze for anthrologies of all kinds we have several anthologies of letters. To mention a few of them there are those edited by Saintsbury, E. V. Luces, Birkenhead, and Schuster. Letters as already stated run through all the gamuts of human emotions and catagories of human interest—love, hatred, patriotism friendship, courage, despair, death, consolation religion, philosophy, science, arts, poetry, music, history-in-the making etc. Letters are difficult to be classified. They may be classified under the caption of their subject or under the heading of their mood. There are love letters and hate letters, shocking letters and smiling letters, letters written in honeyed phrases and letters dipped in gall, bombastic letters and cringing letters, passionate letters and cold letters, casual letters and crafty calculated letters, short letters and voluminous letters, curt letters and garrulous letters. There are plenty to please all tastes. Some letters are to be tested, some to be swallowed and some few to be chewed and digested. Letters are personal or impersonal or mixture of both. They are often written under stresses of great personal emotions or historical or political circumstances.

(2)

All the world loves the lovers and of love-letters we have God's plenty in the literatures of the world. A critic once dismissed love-letters as silly, an opinion not shared by the common man. In the history of the great letters in all languages we meet with the various stages and phases of this most disturbing and sometimes most distressing of passions, the fluttering hesitations, eternal pledges, with all the fleeting interludes, grand passions, petty betrayals, lyrical rhepsodies, romantic marriages, star-crossed lovers, separations and meetings, and tear-drenched tragedies. There are love-letters of great geniuses like Beethoven, conquerors like Napoleon, scientists like the Curies, and poets like the Brownings expressing themselves prettily, grandiloquently, romantically. The gorgeous sceptre and crown is equal made with the poor crooked scythe and spade when love is at stake. In Venezuela it is said the post office permits love letters to go through the post at half-rates provided they are sent in bright red envelops, a laudable concession surely requiring to be emulated in these days of devaluation. Careless love letters, however, sometimes lead to breach of promise cases. Two Americans are talking.

One of them said, "So Hildas' broken it off with Bobby. I wonder if she still keeps his lovely letters." "No," replied the other, "As a matter of fact, they're keeping her now."

There are the most passionate and poignant love letters of Heloise and Abelard whose storm-tossed and star-crossed tragedy has been celebrated by Pope, George Moore, Helen Waddell and many others. Theirs is the classic story of a grand passion of the mediaeval age. Those six to eight letters are too long to be quoted and extracts from them will do no justice to them. Ninon de l'Enclos famed as a Venus for beauty and a Minerva for wit was called by Horace Walpole "a veritable Notre Dame des Amours." She lived till ninety and was loved by such eminent men as Condé, La Rochefoncauld, Saint-Ev'remond and the Marquis de Sévigné. Her letter to the last epitomizes the sophistication of the Paris salons of the seventeenth century. Turning to Napolean as a writer of love letters we find that Napolean literature is rivalled only by Shakesperean literature in range and industry and letters form a very substantial portion of it. A conservative estimate puts approximately 30,000 books about Napoleon. He is reported to have written between 55,000 and 75,000 letters and despatches out of which 41,000 have been printed. His love letters to Josephine alone would make a bulky series of books, ranging from the first note "offering friendship" to the last one telling Josephine that he hears she is "getting fat as a Norman farmer's good wife." In mood they range somewhere between the first faltering letters from a little subordinate general of the Republican army to the last disdainful note from the Emperor of the French. They are boyish shouts from a love-sick youngster—the conqueror at the feet of the cocotte. The last words Napoleon reported to have uttered before his death at St. Helena were "France !......Armée !......lête d'armée......Josephine."

Love letters of Byron, Shelley, and Keats are too well known to need to be quoted. Some sentences from Keats' letters to Fanny Browne will suffice. "I love you the more in that I believe you have liked me for my own sake and for nothing else. I have met with women whom I really think would like to be married to a Poem and to be given away by a Novel." "I have no limit now to my love. I have been astonished that men could die martyr of religion. I have shuddered at it. I shudder no more. I could be martyrd for my religion—love is my religion—I could die for you. My creed is love and you are its only tenet." We need not pry too closely into intimate love letters. As Oscar Wilde wrote in his sonnet *On (the sale by auction of Keats, love-letters.*

"These are the letters which Endymion wrote
To one he loved in secret, and apart,
And now the brawlers of the auction mart
Bargain and bid for each poor blotted note,
Ay, for each separate pulse of passion quote
The latest price—I think they love not Art
Who break the crystal of a poet's heart
That small and sickly eyes may glare or gloat."

The love letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning express "the inmost music of two hearts beating each to each." One of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Sonnets from the Portuguese effectively expresses the love of this pair.

"How do I love thee? Let me count the ways.
I love thee to the depth and breadth and height
My soul can reach, when feeling out of sight
For the ends of Being and ideal Grace.
I love thee to the level of everyday's
Most quiet need, by sun and candle light.
I love thee freely, as men strive for right;
I love thee purely, as they turn from praise.
I love thee with the passion put to use
In my old grief's, and with my childhood's faith.
I love thee with a love I seemed to lose
With my lost saints—I love thee with the breath,
Smiles, tears, of all my life!—and, if God choose,
I shall but love thee after death."

The love of a strong man freed this struggling invalid cooped up mentally and physically by the Victorian strait-laced domineering father and converted her into a blithe singing bird when she broke away from the parental prison house to go out with her soul-mate in quest of the great adventure of life.

To descend from the Alpine heights of such exalted love we turn to the more mundane love letter that Sarah Bernhard, the famous French actress, wrote to the dramatist Victorieu Sardou whom she saw by chance in a *café dansant* in Paris and with her impetuous nature determined to win him—and did. Here is one of her letters to him.

"Wonderful Boy,

Where are you to night? Your letter came only an hour ago—cruel hour—I had hoped you would spend it with me here.

Paris is a morgue without you: before I knew you, it was Paris, and I thought it heaven; but now it is a vast desert of desolation and loneliness. It is like the face of a clock bereft of its hands.

All the pictures that hung in my memory before I knew you have faded and given place to our radiant moments together.

Now I cannot live apart from you—your words, even though bitter—dispel all the cares of the world and make me happy, my art has been suckled by them and softly rocked in their tender cradle; they are as necessary to me now as sunlight and air.

I am as hungry for them as for food, I am thirsty for them, and my thirst is overwhelming. Your words are my food, your breath my wine. You are everything to me.

Yours Sarah"

Eve Curie writing about her father's letters to her mother declared "Would it not be a splendid title to fame to have inspired such letters?" Curie's life and work together stand forth as a unique instance of collaboration between two allied spirits in which the survivor carried the work of the partner at the precise point where he left off. The platonic love affair between Bernard Shaw and Euen Terry is narrated in their romantic correspondence of twenty-five years. The letters were never intended to be published and all are not published. In these letters we do not find the at times trying propagandist and self-parading Shaw of the plays and prefaces; they reveal him as a tender compassionate, and companionable Shaw, the human in him coming to the surface and the doctrinaire subdued. Still the familiar Shaw cannot be subdued too long as is illustrated by the following witticism in one of these letters. "Remember that only on paper has humanity yet achieved glory, beauty, truth, knowledge, virtue and abiding love."

To be continued

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN U.P.

III

FUNCTIONS AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL

NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

Chapter IV of the Panchayat Raj Act lays down the functions which a Gaon Sabha is to carry out. These functions are divided into two groups—those which are, seemingly at least, compulsory and those which may be taken up at its discretion. Actually even the so-called compulsory functions are to be performed "so far as its funds may allow."[1] The compulsory functions are delineated, item by item, in Section 15 and the optional functions in Section 16 of the Act. In the former list are twenty items and in the latter eighteen. Among the compulsory functions are included the care of public streets, medical relief and sanitation, registration of births and deaths, regulation of markets and *hats*, providing primary education, water supply, promotion of agriculture and industry, the administration of civil and criminal justice, maternity and child welfare and the maintenance of records regarding cattle census, population census and other statistics. The optional list again includes such items as planting and maintaining trees, organising a village voluntary force, developing co-operation among different communities, establishing co-operative organisations and establishing and maintaining libraries, clubs and recreation centres.

As regards the administration of civil and criminal justice, that function is not to be carried out directly either by the Panchayats or the Gaon Sabhas. That has been assigned to the Panchayati Adalats which have close relationship to the Panchayats and the Gaon Sabhas but which are all the same separate institutions so far as the actual work of administering justice is concerned. On that account this subject will be considered separately. As regards control of public streets, sanitation, medical relief and primary education, detailed provisions have been made in Sections 17, 18, 19 and 20. Further in Sections 21, 22 and 23 a Gaon Panchayat has been empowered to assist a Government servant in the discharge of his duties in the area within its jurisdiction, to make representation to the Government concerning the welfare of the local people, and to make after due enquiry a complaint to requisite authority regarding the misconduct of certain petty officials of the Government. Under Section 24 again the Gaon Panchayat has been empowered to enter into a contract either with the Government or with any landed proprietor for the collection of taxes and other dues.

---

[1] Section 15

It will be noticed in the previous two paragraphs that there is no reference there to the appointment and maintenance of village chowkidars. In the optional list (item No. d) there is reference, of course, to the organisation of a village voluntary force for watch and ward and other purposes. It is also a fact that Gaon Panchayats have been encouraged to set up a committee for village protection. But so far no definite steps have been taken towards the organisation of a village force. It should be remembered in this connection that the Provincial Government is setting up a provincial organisation called the Prantik Rakhsadal. If a village force is now raised, the question of co-ordinating its activities with those of the provincial body would arise. And so long as this question is not settled by the Government, the Gaon Panchayats cannot move in the direction of organising a village force.

Even if a voluntary body is set up within the jurisdiction of each Gaon Sabha, that may not solve the problems of village watch and ward. A voluntary organisation is one thing and a regular organisation of village police is another. In Bengal villages watch and ward is a primary duty of the Union Board and the maintenance of the chowkidars is the first charge upon its income. It is true that because of this fact the Union Boards find it difficult to pay attention to their municipal functions, *e.g.*, road-making and public health. The major portion of their income is eaten up in maintaining the chowkidars and little is left for nation-building purposes. While this is true, there is also no gainsaying the fact that the organisation of village watch and ward and the maintenance of the chowkidars to that end are the local responsibility of the village bodies. There is, no doubt, control exercised in this regard by the police officers of the thana and the executive officers of the district. But still the fact remains that the responsibility for village protection against thieves, robbers and other miscreants is primarily that of the Union Boards. Village watch and ward is still not a very efficient organisation in Bengal. The dual control under which the chowkidars and dafadars have to work places them not unoften in a false position and undermines their efficiency. But the Chowkidary Enquiry Committee which was appointed in 1938 and which submitted its report in 1940 did not recommend any change in the principle that village watch and ward should remain the primary responsibility of the village bodies. It recommended that "the idea of substituting a subordinate constabulary should be abandoned."[2] In other words, neither the chowkidars nor a police force which may be set up in substitution for them should be placed directly under the Government. That would be a retrograde arrangement and would interfere with the proper detection of crime.

In U.P., however, in every village there are chowkidars for watch and ward purposes. "Their appointment, dismissal and punishment is controlled by the Magistrate of the district."[3] The Gaon Sabha and the Gaon Panchayat have no control over them. They have been, of course, encouraged to take a small allowance from the Gaon Panchayat and undertake on that account some work on behalf of these bodies in addition to their own regular duties. But that should not take away from the fact that they are primarily watch and ward men outside the jurisdiction of the Gaon Panchayat. The question now is whether this arrangement has not to be altered and the organisation of watch and ward and maintenance of chowkidars should not be made a compulsory responsibility of the Gaon Sabhas. There is, no doubt, the question of finance. This, however, may be met if the Government makes a subvention for the purpose. The important fact is that without village watch and ward being made a village responsibility, crime cannot be detected and offenders brought to book. So some definite step should be taken without delay in this direction and the relevant Acts amended to that end. The withdrawal of the British Raj and the substitution of the people's sovereignty appear to be giving encouragement to lawless elements in many districts. It would be difficult to put down this tendency without active local co-operation. Such co-operation may be enlisted only by entrusting the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the villages to the village bodies.

Among the other compulsory and optional functions only a few could be taken up by the Gaon Sabhas in the initial stage of their working. The Panchayats are new bodies without much experience. Consequently it was thought wise to limit their activities for the time being only to few functions. There was again the question of finance. The proceeds of the taxes levied would only slowly be available and for the time being the only money at the disposal of these bodies was what was given by the Government. In view of this the Panchayat Raj Department decided that for sometime to come the Gaon Panchayats should give priority to education, sanitation, roads, tree plantation and the building of Panchayat huts. In fact, the first duty of the Gaon Panchayats was according to the instruction of the Government to build a Panchayat *Ghar* in each Gaon Sabha and this *Ghar* was to include a reading room, a library and a small stock of medicines for ordinary use. In some of the Gaon Sabhas no expense had to be incurred in building such a *Ghar* (hut). It came as a gift from some charitably disposed person of means. Here and there the President of the Gaon Sabha has handed over to it a house of his own for the purpose.

---

[2] Report, p. 35

[3] *Ibid*, p. 19.

The Government has rightly given first priority to the establishment of a Panchayat *Ghar.* Such a building with a reading room attached to it will gradually become the centre of village life and bring considerable cohesion in village organisation. In Bengal few Union Boards have a building of their own for office and meeting purposes. When a particular person becomes the President, the office is shifted to a room in his house. So no community centre could develop in the Union even after thirty years of the working of the Union Boards. But in a U.P. Gaon Sabha the Panchayat *Ghar* is likely to be the meeting ground of many people and may awaken their social consciousness. As regards other functions, we have seen above that while stress has been put on sanitation, for the time being there is no emphasis on medical relief except that there should be a stock of some medicines in the Panchayat *Ghar* for ordinary use. This does not mean that the Panchayats will in the future also devote their attention only to preventive work and take no part in curative activities in respect of public health. Unfortunately in a news item published in October last[4] we are informed that two hundred and forty-two indigenous dispensaries in the rural areas of U. P. had about that time been provincialised. They would be thenceforward managed by the Provincial Government on its own account. The tendency is in other words towards provincialising medical relief and leaving no responsibility in this regard in the hands of the local bodies. This may, of course, facilitate better equipment of the rural dispensaries and add to their efficiency. But there is a limit to the activities of the Government in this field. Its efforts would not reach all the rural areas. Meanwhile its resources would be exhausted in maintaining the increased number of dispensaries it has taken up or will take up in its own hands in the near future. Consequently, so far as the areas, not catered to by these Government dispensaries, are concerned, they will have to depend upon the small resources of the Gaon Panchayats alone. It is to be seen whether instead of following this policy of provincialising a number of rural dispensaries, it would have been better to stick to grant-in-aid system and encourage Gaon Panchayats to set up and maintain dispensaries through grant-in-aid on a fifty-fifty basis.

---

[4] See Lucknow Edition of Amrita Bazar Patrika of 7.10.49.

The Gaon Sabhas, we have pointed out already, were set up on the initiative of those leaders who had faith in the people of the villages. The neglect of centuries has to be made good in as short a time as possible. Almost every thing in the villages requires attention. Agricultural lands have to be improved, village industries have to be stimulated, market and melas have to be properly regulated, waterways have to be deepened and improved, old roads have to be repaired and widened, new roads have to be opened, common grazing grounds have to be provided, protection against fire as also against thieves and miscreants has to be organised, maternity and child welfare have to be looked after, proper water supply has to be ensured and sundry other things have to be done. In regard to some of them the Gaon Panchayats have only to supplement the efforts of the Government, *e.g.*, in primary education and water supply. In some other matters all the burden is on their shoulders. Now if all these different things are to be done through money-expenditure, little is likely to be accomplished. The Gaon Sabhas consist of all adults in the area and the President and the Panches are their representatives. They are expected to rouse the community spirit in the villages and have many things done more for love than for money. Without harnessing active voluntary assistance, the work of uplift which is ahead of us cannot be accomplished. The success or otherwise of a President and his Panchayat would depend upon how far they have enlisted voluntary assistance.

The income of the Gaon Sabhas is under Section 32 of the Act to be derived from several sources. The first and the most important source is, of course, the tax levied by the Gaon Sabha. The other sources are Government contributions, contributions from the District Board, "sale proceeds of all dust, dirt, dung or refuse including the dead bodies of animals," gift from individuals and organisations, and commission received for collecting rent on behalf of the Government or any private proprietor. Taxes to be imposed are naturally many. Some of them may be recommended to the Union Boards in Bengal. For instance a tax not exceeding one anna in the rupee may be levied upon the rent payable by the tenant and simultaneously a tax not exceeding six pies in the rupee may be imposed upon the rent received by any proprietor, the tax in the latter case being payable by the proprietor. Another important source is tax on trade, calling and profession. For instance merchants, sugar refiners, owners of vehicles for hire are to take out a licence on payment of a fee. In addition to that if their income exceeds Rs. 500 a year, they may be required to pay taxes at varying rates according as the income is large or small. These different sources of income appear considerable on paper, actually it is not likely that any of the Gaon Sabhas will be very well off. It is estimated that at the lowest a Sabha will have an annual income of Rs. 350 and at the highest Rs. 2,000. This is an income which would pass as very small at all times. At the present time with the value of the rupee being what it is, this small income may really pass as insignificant. In view of this the only hope, as indicated already, lies in the enlistment of honorary voluntary assistance.

The intention of the Government was no doubt to install panchayat raj in the villages and authorise the people there to manage their local affairs in their own way. But this autonomy could not by the nature of things be absolute and unqualified. In no country can the principle of home rule for local authorities be carried to its logical extent and in U. P. also some control either of the Provincial Government or of an authority prescribed by it has been provided for in the Act. A chapter on external control (chapter VII) has been included in the Act but provisions for such external control are not limited to the Sections of this chapter. They are interspersed throughout the statute and in the nature of things had to be so.

Under Section 3 it is not only for the Provincial Government to establish by notification a Gaon Sabha but it may from time to time include in it new areas or exclude from it areas which were previously included in it. Under Section 5 when a person is disqualified for membership of a Gaon Sabha for certain assigned reasons, his disqualification on certain grounds may be removed either by the Provincial Government or any authority prescribed by it, the prescribed authority being in this case the Subdivisional Magistrate.

Under Section 9 it is for the prescribed authority to prepare and have annually revised a register of adults in a Gāon Sabha. Here also this authority has been conferred by the Provincial Government upon the Subdivisional Magistrate. In case again any difficulty or dispute arises regarding the interpretation of any provision of the Act or the rules made thereunder, the decision of the Provincial Government shall be final. There is no appeal to a civil court in this regard. Under Section 12(4) it is the duty of an authority prescribed by the Provincial Government to divide a Gaon Sabha into as many constituencies as that authority may think convenient for the purpose. The prescribed authority is the Subdivisional Magistrate.

Under Section 16(d) a Gaon Panchayat may organise a village voluntary force. But it may undertake this duty only according to rules framed by the Government. Under Section 17(e) a Gaon Panchayat may undertake small irrigation works but only with the sanction of prescribed authority, this authority being the District Panchayat Officer. Under Section 19 the Provincial Government and the District Board may make grants to a Gaon Sabha for schools, hospitals and dispensaries but only according to rules to be conformed to. Under Section 20 again two or more Gaon Sabhas may combine under the direction of the prescribed authority for maintaining a school, a hospital or a dispensary. The prescribed authority is the District Panchayat Officer. In a previous article we have discussed already the procedure followed in making the appointment of the Secretary. In regard to other staff, whole-time or part-time, which a Gaon Sabha may require, the Gaon Panchayat is to make a proposal detailing there the salaries and allowances to be paid to and the duties to be performed by this staff to the prescribed authority, the District Panchayat Officer being this prescribed authority. He may approve, modify or reject the proposal. If any member of the Gaon Panchayat, a committee or joint committee is responsible for the loss, waste or misapplication of any money or property of the Panchayat, it may institute a suit against him with the previous sanction of the prescribed authority, this authority being the District Panchayat Officer. The Provincial Government also on its own initiative may institute such a suit.

A Gaon Panchayat may borrow money from the Government but only with the sanction of the prescribed authority, this authority being the President of the District Board. Taxes which a Gaon Sabha is to levy are to be so levied according to rules and orders made by the Provincial Government (Section 37). The accounts of every Sabha are to be audited every year according to rules prescribed by the Government. Under Section 41(3) the budget adopted by a Gaon Sabha has to be approved by the prescribed authority, this authority being the Inspector. Under Section 96 when any resolution has been adopted by a Gaon Sabha, a Gaon Panchayat or a Committee thereof for any work to be undertaken, the prescribed authority may nullify the resolution and prohibit the execution of the work contemplated in the resolution. The District Panchayat Officer is the authority in this regard. Under Section 95 the Provincial Government may cause to be inspected any immovable property owned or occupied by a Gaon Sabha and books and documents in the possession of a Gaon Panchayat or a joint committee. It may further require a Gaon Panchayat to furnish such statements, reports and copies of documents it may think fit. The rules and by-laws, consistent with the provisions of the Panchayat Raj Act, may be framed by the Provincial Government, a prescribed authority (the Executive Committee of the District Board) and by the Gaon Panchayat with the sanction of the prescribed authority which is also in this case the Executive Committee of the District Board.

We have detailed above the different items of control exercised either by the Provincial Government or its officers over the activities of the Gaon Sabhas. We have also referred to the different functionaries who are entrusted with the exercise of this control. In this regard there appears to be some room for better organisation. For some items of work the control is exercised by the Subdivisional Magistrate, for another group of functions by the District Panchayat Officer, for a third group by the Inspector and in respect of still other functions by the Executive Committee of the District Board. We do not see why the Subdivisional Magistrate who is not in U.P. an officer resident in the Subdivision but who has to pass his days at the district headquarters should be in any way concerned with the work of the Gaon Sabhas. In regard to the work of the Panchayati Adalats, he may exercise some jurisdiction but otherwise he should not have anything to do with the activities of these village institutions. The case against his interference becomes particularly strong by the fact that separate District Panchayat Officers have now been appointed. Experienced Deputy Collectors have been posted in each district in this capacity. Even today many of them have, of course, other duties. But it is expected that in the near future they would work whole time as Panchayat Raj Officers. In view of that the work would be better done if it is concentrated in their hands. It may also be arranged that in the first instance all matters regarding the administration of the Gaon Sabhas which are to be referred to the Government should be referred to the Inspectors, and the District Panchayat Raj Officers should have either appellate authority over these Inspectors or should otherwise exercise supervision and control over them. The machinery will that way be more simplified.

So there should be three links in the chain of Government control over the Gaon Sabhas. The first link is supplied by Panchayat Raj Directorate at Lucknow, the second by the District Panchayat Officers and the third by the Inspectors. At present the Director, Panchayat Raj Department, corresponds with the District Magistrate who passes on the instruction to the District Panchayat Raj Officer or to the Subdivisional Magistrate. This system is not only cumbrous but otherwise unscientific. It makes for delay, does not allow proper fixing of responsibility and undermines efficiency. The days when the District Magistrate was the *ma bap* of the people and had to look after the administration of all departments in the area within his jurisdiction are gone. As far as possible each department of the Government should have now its own agents in the districts and its subdivisions. So the Director should send his instructions to the District Panchayat Officers and from them the Inspectors would take orders and instructions. By making some such arrangement the Government would create an opportunity for officers to specialise in this branch of activity. At present the District Panchayat Officers have no specialised training. Recruited from among Deputy Collectors they are, of course, men of good education and have general administrative training and experience. But batch by batch those deputed to do this work should also undergo an intensive specialised training for not less than three months. To that end either an Institute on the lines of Co-operative Institutes may be set up or one or more Universities may be called upon to undertake this work.

The Inspectors are the pivot of the Panchayat Raj. It was good that the Government understood the significance of their position and took some care in choosing and training them. Five hundred of them have been appointed and are now at work. The task of choosing them was entrusted to the Provincial Public Service Commission. In order that political sufferers also might have a chance of being appointed, educational qualifications required for choice were lowered. Some of the appointees are actually non-matriculates.

But most are graduates and some have obtained even the Master's degree. A small proportion was recruited from among those who had passed through the Social Service Training Centre maintained at Faizabad by the Department of Education. But irrespective of this training all those who were appointed Inspectors had, before they were posted, to go through the Training Camp which was set up in the University of Lucknow. There they were given both theoretical and practical training. Apart from lectures which might have been better organised, they were given two dozen pamphlets to read and digest. They contained information regarding the Panchayat Raj organisation, public health, agriculture, adult education, animal husbandry, co-operation, Prantiya Rakshadal and similar other subjects. In the future if an Institute, as suggested above, is set up, the recruits may be sent there for some systematic training. Possibly experienced Inspectors also may now and again be sent there to undertake a refresher course.

We have emphasised above that it depends considerably upon the Inspectors whether the experiment of Panchayat Raj will be successful. They are not only to exercise control in specific matters on behalf of the Government and the District Panchayat Officers but they are to be the friend, philosopher and guide of the Gaon Panchayats and their Presidents. In view of this their number may have to be increased. Their total number in the whole province is now five hundred and two of them are allotted to each tahsil, each having to inspect about seventy Gaon Sabhas. They reside either at the tahsil headquarters or in some place within their actual jurisdiction. It should be remembered in this connection that in addition to the control which they are to exercise in respect of individual items as referred to them for approval, they have to visit every Gaon Sabha at least once a year and audit its accounts. If the Inspectors are really to be helpful, this visit should last at least three or four days so that accounts may be audited and advice and encouragement may be suitably tendered. This visit should also be more frequent than once a year. Inspectors are on a grade of Rs. 120—200. The addition of a few hundred more Inspectors would not consequently entail a considerable expenditure. If we take into consideration the fact that they would be discharging a basic responsibility and would help in the proper foundation of democratic government in this country, this extra expenditure should not be grudged.

Round the World

Bengal and Bengalee Race

Sreejut Ramaswami Mudaliar in delivering the Convocation address at the Jadavpur College of Engineering has made some pertinent observations about the people of this province—observations which all of us should bear in mind in all our activities.

"It is difficult for me or for any Indian of my generation to think of Bengal and of the Bengalee race without the deepest emotion. We were nurtured in many fields of activity on the ideas which illustrious sons of Bengal put before us. The main inspiration of much of the activities of my generation in the political, religious or aesthetic field came from Bengal . . . The name of Swami Vivekananda has only to be uttered to evoke feelings of the greatest devotion among millions of Indians all over the country . . . That band of stout and devoted patriots—Surendranath Banerjee, Rashbehary Ghose, Matilal Ghose, Ananda Mohan Bose, Lal Mohan Ghose—pioneers in political agitation against a formidable bureaucracy—what a powerful influence they were in shaping the politics of the day, in unsettling settled facts, in making the most autocratic of governments bend before the storm. They were the main master minds in creating that large intellectual army of politicians, who, later under the even more inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, stirred the mind of the masses and led the country to independence. Need I refer to the part played by Bengal and the Bengalees in aesthetics and point out how the Tagores and the Bengal school of arts have done so much to place India on the aesthetic map?"

"Will you forgive me if I ask you: 'Where is that Bengal today from which came all the forces making for the progress not of the province but of the whole continent of India?' Years ago it was often said: 'What Bengal thinks today, the rest of India will think tomorrow.' For one who was, as I have said, nurtured on these ideas and traditions, it comes as a shock to see Bengal described as a 'problem province' and Calcutta as a 'problem city.' "

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Bengalees have fallen a good deal from the traditions to which Sj. Mudaliar has feelingly referred. Causes for this resiling from the old glorious traditions may be one or many, justifiable or otherwise. That is not the most important point. What is tragically important is that we have not yet developed the will to make good the defects in our ways of life which have today made us the target as much of indignation as of ridicule and contempt in this country.

The sooner we develop that will, the better for ourselves as for the country as a whole. The sixteen years of the Montagu-Chelmsford regime we frittered away in fruitless agitation. During that period other provinces utilised the reforms in making constructive progress and strengthening the people in education, public health and other important fields. During the same period we remained engaged either in inept agitation or in territoristic activities. The result was that not only the province drifted in matters of education and public health which are the foundations of all progress but what is more the established government of the day gave, out of spite against us, all encouragement to communalist and fissiparous forces which gradually gained ascendancy and when Provincial Autonomy came under the Act of 1935 the separatists and communalists alone profited by it. It seems we have not yet learnt any lesson. Independence has dawned on the country. It is time to put shoulders to the wheel. Instead we appear to be determined to continue the destructive activities to which we have become inured. Such activities in the past have resulted in the division of the province and their continuance at the present will only eliminate us from the map of India. It is strange that we do not see light yet.

White terrorism in excelsis in South Africa

We make no apology in inserting the following from the New Statesman and Nation:

"Nothing could better reveal the mood of Dr. Malan's supporters than the resolutions which were put down for the Nationalist Party congress in the Transvaal last month. They rant and rave against every one who dares to protest against unfettered white supremacy or tries to make life a little more tolerable for the wretched Africans. Is there a feeding scheme for coloured children? Abolish it. Are Africans paid too much? Cut their wages. Ban their meetings. Submit them to a curfew. Bar them from all public service, from treatment by White doctors, even from owning dogs. What of the Indian minority? Why, harry that too, repatriate it, deny it all rice save that imported direct from India, drive it into special reservations. As for trouble-makers, such as the Rev. Michael Scott, deport them, imprison them, ban their organisations. These themes run through most of the five hundred resolutions. It would be bad enough if the Nationalists were only a virulent minority. But they intend to do these things and nobody seems capable of stopping them. The aparthied or segregation policy is already applied vigorously and there is worse to come. Every week now brings me moving letters from South Africa, describing fresh examples of beastliness. The latest is from the Rand Daily Mail, where a correspondent describes watching a party of white youths throwing stones at coloured children on their way to school."

Conferences in Christmas Week

Eastern coast was humming with activities in Christmas week. Cuttack was the meeting ground of Indian historians. They met under the auspices of Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress. The first is an official body which was set up by the Government of India in 1919 and worked during the last ten years under the leadership of a historical scholar who headed for years the Department of History of this University. During this period the scientific study of official records which are the raw materials of modern Indian History has expanded considerably. As a result of the achievement of political independence most documents of the 19th century which were not open before to inspection and study by scholars are available to them for such study and appraisal. This is a great opportunity for historians, young and old. It is hoped that they will now dig deep in the quarry to which they have got access. Many corners which have hitherto remained dark may now be brought under light. The relations of the Government of India with the states may now yield to scientific scrutiny. Similarly many of the documents throwing light on constitutional history may also now come in for examination.

The Indian History Congress was started sixteen years later in 1935 and has since then met from year to year in different University and historical centres. Many eminent historians have presided over its annual sessions. Like the Science Congress it meets in sections under sectional presidents who guide the deliberations on historical materials and their interpretation of different periods of Indian history. The subject is vast and can only be studied in compartments. It is not inappropriate on this account that different sections under their own presidents are organised.

Indian Political Science Association which was constituted slightly later than Indian History Congress met at Madras at its annual Conference in the same week. While the historians discuss India's past records, the scholars in political science are busy with present day problems without, however, neglecting the ideals and achievements of the past. Much of the ground is on this account common. In spite of it, however, there is need for students of political science to meet separately and exchange ideas regarding their reaction to problems of today. Too much of stress had to be put so long for obvious reasons on constitutional questions. Now that this subject has been settled for years to come by the Constituent Assembly, it is hoped that in the future administrative, sociological and international issues will have their rightful place in the agenda of the Conference.

The Indian Economic Conference was also held in Christmas week in another University town on the same coast, namely Waltair. For years past this Conference was regarded as only next in importance to the Indian Science Congress. But possibly because of every economist having his own views on crucial questions of the day and because of the failure of all to suggest proper solutions of these questions, their collective importance is not today appraised greater than that of other Conferences. But nobody will deny that the Conference provides an excellent meeting ground for economists of different provinces to exchange their ideas.

Alternative to Communism

Sometime ago the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liakat Ali Khan, observed in course of a speech at Kohat that Islam was an excellent alternative to communism. Islam prescribes a way of life in which millions have faith and this way of life, though different from communism, should appeal to those less fortunate members of the society who are now-a-days attracted by the equalising tenets of the latter.

It is, of course, not true to say that all Muslims have such faith in their religion as not to become converts to communism. But it is a fact that the hold of religion being stronger among them communism makes comparatively little headway so far as they are concerned. Even in the Soviet Union concessions have been made to Muslims—concessions which are not enjoyed by people affiliated to the christian churches. That shows that even in the cradle-land of communism Muslim population maintains its identity and way of life to a great extent.

But while hold of religion is an important antidote to the spread of totalitarian communism among the children of Islam, it should be remembered that inspite of Liakat Ali Khan it is no antidote to the excesses of capitalism with its social differences. And once such excesses of capitalism spread as they are spreading in Pakistan, they will bring in their train the influence of communism as well. Days are gone when the have-nots will be easily reconciled to the existence by their side of the abnormally rich. There was a time when the Amirs were taken as a natural adjunct of the society which, however, consisted mostly of poor men. But today it is in the nature of things that the poor are jealous of the rich and inevitably develop an antipathy towards them.

In view of this if Islam can curb the modern craze of making money any how and by any means and keep under check the ambition of the producers and distributors of commodities, it may indirectly check communism as well. Otherwise in a sharply bifurcated society mutual jealousy between the haves and the have-nots will inevitably bring in a condition of things which may not be called communism because of its not being divorced from religion altogether but which will be akin to it. So mere hold of religion on the common people will not halt communism. It will certainly be halted if the true tenets of religion which are to be found as much in Islam as in Hinduism and Christianity are observed not only by the common people but equally by those who wield the instruments of production and distribution. In France, Italy and some other countries attempts have been made to check the spread of communism by emphasising the principles of christianity and by attempts to inculcate them more and more in the labouring population. We cannot say that attempts have very much succeeded yet. They will, however, not be abortive if the observance of the same tenets by all groups of people brings in a greater equality between class and class.

India is a land of religion. Outwardly religion appears to have a far greater hold here than anywhere else in the world. But it does not seem it has had any effect on that increasing number of men and women who are drifting today towards the communist way of life. This is because while most people are punctilious in conforming to the outer demands of religion, few are being influenced by its basic principles. None in India rear temples and build dharamshalas more than the industrialists, bankers and general merchants. But most of them appear to think that they have done their duty to religion by establishing new temples or repairing old ones. Common ethical principles enjoined by their religion are, however, thrown to the wind as soon as there is any necessity for it. So hold of religion is only loose. Hold of true religious principles on those in whose hands lies the destiny of the society can alone be an antidote to communism and halt it once for all.

Islamic Economic Conference in Karachi

In December last was held at Karachi a conference in which participated representatives of different Islamic countries. It discussed economic problems of these states. The original idea was to invite the delegates of these countries to a conference which would discuss the possibilities of an Islamic federation. It should be remembered in this connection that the promoters of the separate state of Pakistan were largely influenced by the idea of Pan-Islamism. Islamic brotherhood was to them an ideal to be realised. In their view Islam could become a force in the world if only the different Islamic states were brought together on a common political platform and persuaded to act under one leadership and command. To this end Mr. Khalikuzzaman of the Pakistan Muslim League undertook a tour in Middle Eastern countries. His object was to bring about some kind of a political unity among Islamic states ranging from the Western Punjab to Morrocco. He sounded political circles in Iran, Iraq, Egypt and other countries. He was, however, confronted by heavy odds against his proposal. In the first place there was a feeling of nationalism in some of the states—nationalism which not unoften begets mutual jealousies and rivalries. Secondly, there was the emphasis on the distinction between the Arab and non-Arab Muslims. As a result of this emphasis Pan-Arab movement was stronger than the Pan-Islamic one. Thirdly, there was the feeling in countries like Egypt that Pan-Islamic federation as suggested by the Pakistanis was a retrogade idea. If there was to be a political entente between Eastern countries for the safeguarding of their interests against the ambitions of the Western Powers it should cover India as well. So the proposal for a Pan-Islamic political conference had to be abandoned and a less ambitious proposal had to be mooted. So this economic conference consisting of delegates only of Islamic countries was organised and held. But this is only to be regarded as a stepping-stone. Although economic problems were mainly considered in the conference, it provided a platform for the representatives of different Islamic countries to know each other and exchange ideas and thoughts. Such exchange of ideas may gradually iron out differences, forge a common outlook and bring about political unity. Pan-Islamism was a danger to India before. With the partition of the country it has not ceased to be a danger. On the contrary with our relations with Pakistan as they are, the growth of Pan-Islamic federation in any shape or form is a factor to be reckoned with in this country.

Elections in Newzealand and Australia

General elections in Newzealand and Australia which were held in December last have gone against the Labour Governments of those two Dominions. In the former country in a house of eighty the Labourites have secured only thirty-five seats and in the Australian House of Representatives they have obtained forty-four out of 119. Labour Governments have in consequence resigned. In Australia Mr. Chifley has given place to Mr. Menzies as Prime Minister, who would now head a coalition Cabinet consisting of representatives of the Liberal and Country Parties. Whatever their names may imply, both groups which have now combined are anti-socialist and may on that account be called conservative. The Country Party puts some emphasis on the interests of the small agriculturalists. Apart from that there is not much of a difference between the platforms of the two groups.

One of the main reasons for the ousting of Labour is of course the inevitable swing of the political pendulum from the left to the right. Labour had been in office for a long period (in Australia for eight years). It was but in the nature of things that opposition against it should now accumulate sufficient strength. Labour Government again means more government which after a while people dislike. As one item after another comes under Government control, people are left lesser initiative and smaller area to move about in their own way. This makes them inclined to a Government which would leave to them wider space for themselves. The question is not whether Government control or private initiative is better. The fact is that too much of exercise of Government control makes people breathless and they thirst for an alternative arrangement under which there would be more room for individual liberty and private initiative.

In Australia there were particular minor grounds as well for the Labour Party to lose support. On the eve of the election some serious charges were brought against the Labour Prime Minister in respect of high interest he had charged for money he had lent to others. Mr. Chifley replied to these charges in a manner which might be otherwise satisfactory but for election purposes it was not so. Secondly, the way the White Australia policy was enforced by the Labour Government was regarded by a large section of the people as too stringent and in some cases inhuman. A regimented Government is not influenced by humane principles but the general body of Australians, though imbued with ideas of White supremacy, is still open to such influences. In view of this it was but natural that the policy pursued during the last two years by the Labour Government in respect of non-white immigration to and settlement in Australia has alienated a considerable section of opinion.

The dismissal of Labour Governments in the two Dominions and the sorry part played by the Canadian C. C. F. sometime ago seem to suggest that in the Commonwealth (at least in the white parts of it) the tendency is towards the right. It is yet too early to say whether what has taken place in Australia and Newzealand will take place in Britain as well. But if a landslide happens in Britain against Labour in the coming general election, nobody should be surprised. So far of course except for local elections there is no indication that Labour is losing much the support of the electorate. But inclination towards the right is certainly noticeable. The policy which the Soviet Union has pursued so far has helped in stimulating opinion on the right particularly in Britain and the Dominions. A more conciliating attitude on its part would have possibly made conservatives less influential.

Indonesia

On the 27th of December last there was the formal transfer of power in Indonesia from Dutch authorities to the Government of Dr. Soekarno. The Dutch Queen herself transferred this power to Dr. Hatta who had travelled to this end to Holland. Sometime before that an agreement had been arrived at in a Round Table Conference at the Hague between the representatives of the Indonesian people and those of the Dutch Government and this agreement was ratified both by the Dutch Parliament and the Indonesian authorities. Thereafter a bill was introduced providing for transfer of power in the Dutch Parliament both houses of which passed it in time.

Thus have ended nearly three hundred and fifty years of Dutch rule in Indonesia and four years of post-war struggle between the Indonesian patriots and the Dutch Government. It is true that connection with the Netherlands does not cease altogether as a result of the Act which has been passed by the Dutch Parliament and which embodies the spirit of the agreement to which reference has been made above. Indonesia still remains an integral part of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. But subject to that which does not imply any real external control, Indonesia is now launched on a career of independence. In other words seventy million people living in different islands who were for three hundred fifty years under the control of a foreign white power will now be the architects of their destiny.

For this thanks are due first to the Japanese. In 1942 they put an end to Dutch rule in Indonesia as they did away with it in Burma and Malaya. We do not care to discuss as to what would have been the fate of the Indonesians if the Japanese were not defeated in 1945 by the use of the atom bomb. The important fact is that without Japanese help the Dutch octopus would not have been removed even temporarily and the nationalist forces would not have the opportunity of organisation which they received at the time of the Japanese withdrawal. So at this hour of transfer of power this great contribution of the Japanese people though made without any conscious desire on their part should not be forgotten.

Secondly, thanks are due to the leaders of the Indonesian people who showed great will-power and determination during the last few years. Dr. Soekarno and his colleagues rose full height to the occasion and proved themselves not only to be great patriots but to be skilful and determined statesmen. Thirdly, thanks are due to Pandit Nehru who has been an unflinching believer in the destiny of Asian nations and gave all the moral support he was capable of to the Indonesian people and their great leaders at all important moments. His calling of a Conference at New Delhi at an hour which was gloomy for the Indonesian patriots gave a new direction to the world in respect of this problem. Lastly, thanks are due to Soviet Communism. If it was not in an aggressive mood and if on its behalf there was no communist terrorism in South East Asia it is unlikely that Britain and more so the U. S. A. would have taken the amount of interest they did take in Indonesian question and allowed the U. N. O. to do what it did in bringing about a rapprochement between the Dutch and the Indonesians.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Saints and Sages in India—By Prof. Pritam Singh, M.A., New Book Society of India, New Delhi. 1948. Price Rs. 3-12-0, pp. 152.

This presentable volume, on the subject indicated by the title, with a foreword from the eminent public man Sir Gokul Chand Narang who extols it, has placed before the reader a birds-eye view of the achievements of various saints and sages in India throughout the ages. It has been historically divided into three parts—the ancient period, the mediaeval period and the modern period, followed by a chapter on the mystic saints of India and sundry attempts at reform in Hindusim. Five appendices follow.

The volume has thus sufficient reading matter in it, and it would be just the thing needed for our schools. But the reader asks, why are there no vedic Rishis under the ancient period? Yajnavalkya and Vasistha might have fittingly come in here for honourable mention. Nor is there any reference to the Buddha and Mahabira. Dhruba, Prahlad and Ajamil—Pauranic characters ennobled for their devotion—cannot by themselves satisfy our needs, what we want from the ancient period. In the mediaeval period the treatment has not been chronological, just as for example, we get Ballabhacharyya after Tulsidas, and Farid and Madhavacharyya too. In the modern period, coming to the Brahmo sages one misses Rajnarayan Bose in the company of those illustrious sons of Mother India who have been named in this connection. On page 99, the Dakshineswar temple is thus described, "four miles from Calcutta there is a temple of Kali known as Dakshineswar where he became a priest." To what does the name Dakshineswar refer, one wonders.

The apposite excerpts from the Srimadbhagavat and from Shakespeare Napoleon and Gandhi which preface the book enhance its value.

P. R. Sen.

The Russian Resolution—By M. N. Roy (First Edition April, 1949). Published by Renaissance Publishers, 15, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta 12.

Roy, who was once an ardent supporter of Soviet Russia, is now one of its uncompromising opponents. "The Russian Revolution" reveals the course of mental evolution underlying this striking change of attitudes.

The story of this mental evolution may begin with a reference to the historic controversy between Stalin and Trotsky. In that controversy, Roy was a convinced opponent of the latter. His support for "socialism in one country" was however, never conceived in a nationalist spirit. He firmly believed that so long as the socialist revolution remained confined to a minor part of the world, it was necessarily incomplete, and that it was the historic obligation of Soviet Russia to assist in spreading the revolution beyond her boundaries. He defended Stalin's policy of "socialism in one country" only because he thought that under the prevailing circumstances it showed the only practical way of consolidating socialist forces in Russia and of preparing that country for playing effectively the role of "Red Napoleonism whenever an opportunity came. Having supported Stalin in this spirit, Roy watched with unflagging interest the unfolding of the European drama and the part played in it by Stalin's Russia.

Prior to World War II, the major turns of Russian policy conformed to Roy's expectations and received his approval, while minor shocks were ignored. In the early pages of the book under review we find him writing not long before the war, that the Russian revolution "has been as successful as it is possible to be under the given world conditions; and the success until now has been so great that it can be characterised as the most brilliant monument to the creative genius of man in the realm of material progress".

But the war brought with it disquieting developments. The Russo-German non-aggression pact brought criticism against Soviet Russia from many progressive quarters and dealt a blow to her moral prestige. Roy brought himself to defend this pact as a measure required by expediency, but, at the same time, hoped that the quickest opportunity will be taken to repudiate it. In 1940, the spectacle of Russia standing inactive while Germany overran France disturbed him highly and prepared his mind for a change of attitude. Had Russia declared war against Germany at that crucial hour in European history, she might have been accepted at once as the liberator and natural leader of Europe in the anti-Fascist struggle. Why did she allow this opportunity to slip? And why did the Communist parties in different countries acting at the direction of Russia, condemn the war as an "imperlalist war" and fail to rise in defence of European civilisation against Nazi aggression? These were disturbing questions.

The end of the war, and events after that brought new doubts reinforcing earlier ones. When the war ended, Russian prestige was sky light, at the same time, anti-socialist forces throughout Europe were weak and disorganised History presented Russia with a unique opportunity to assist socialism to march triumphantly ahead. At that moment, what was most required for the triumph of socialism was to prevent a close alliance between Western Europe and America, and such alliance could actually have been prevented. It would have been prevented if Russia had eagerly forged ties of co-operation with the progressive parties in Europe and particularly with Labour in Britain—parties which, though avowedly non-

Communist, were, at that time, friendly to Soviet Russia, co-operation with socialist parties was necessary because, in the background of the deep-seated democratic tradition of western-Europe, socialism could not have come with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By entering into alliance with socialist parties, Russia would have lost the fancied glory of being the sole leader of progressive Europe, but she would have gained for socialism a great victory. Unfortunately, the alliance, so urgently needed, was not reached. The Communist crusade against socialist parties, old and new, could, in the given situation, make no contribution towards the progress of revolution and could only cement the alliance between western Europe and the U.S.A. The forces of conservatism and reaction got a new lease of life.

The failure of Russia to enter into alliance with democratic socialism drove Roy to undertake a revaluation of Russian Communism. It appeared to him that Russia, saddled with dictatorship and infected with the spirit of revived nationalism, has been lost to democracy.

From the note of admiration in the early pages of "the Russian Revolution" to the regret and unsparing condemnation in the closing sections of the book, we witness the unfolding of an untiring mind in active interpretation of history.

Amlan Datta

Shakespearian Tragedy—By H. B. Charlton, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1948. Price 12*s*. 6*d*., pp. 1-246.

Professor Charlton brings to fullness his critical survey of Shakesperian plays in the present work; his earlier study of the commedies has now established itself as an indispensable aid to scholars and students for the interpretation of Shakespeare's comic genius. Here we are introduced to a profounder region, and Professor Charlton has asked very pertinently why is it that we enjoy tragedies being enacted in spite of the pain and suffering which they exhibit—can it be that the spectacle of suffering is a source of pleasure to the spectator? Then we should be more bloodthirsty than the Romans who flocked to Nero's circus to see Christians torn by lions; for the Romans who at least thought of the Christians as enemies of God and of their state while tragedies revealed the suffering of men of great virtue and worth. The Greek conception of Nemesis explained the suffering and made it morally acceptable to the audience. The business of the tragic dramatist is not to explain the mystery of existence; he only enables us 'to grasp the knowable and mysterious as elements in a potential universe, a cosmic system whose laws in the end are inscrutable, but indisputably are laws'.

Although Bradley has often been criticised as being "too little of a historian and too much of a philosopher", and also because he takes

Shakespeare's dramas as plays and not as poems, Professor Charlton unhesitatingly declares himself as 'a devout Bradleyite', and proceeds to the discussion of Shakespearian Tragedy with a "Bradley outlook". Like his great predecessor in Shakespearian Tragedy, he takes up in the present work a critical study of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear* without altogether neglecting the earlier tragedies, of which the first group comprising *Titas Andronicus*, *Richard III* and *Richard II* have connection with the later plays, which our author has indicated. In his opinion "Romeo and Juilet" in spite of superb lyricism, is stillborn and "Julius Caesar" does not belong with Shakespear's tragedies but with his history. Professor Charlton might occasionally sound unorthodox but he is a great scholar and clear thinker. In the plays that he has analysed and interpreted, he does not act merely as an acolyte. He leaves the ground covered by Bradley to tell us a good deal about 'the cosmic framework peculiar to the stuff of each particular play'. Professor Charlton also uses earlier scholarship in the field of Shakespearian study and makes his approach to the questions he has discussed, both weighty and impressive.

Professor Charlton's work is a distinct contribution to the study of the Shakespearian Tragedy and will provide ample guidance to students, and to teachers who wish to carry out further investigation in the same field.

Srichandra Sen

Guest of the Baron and other Stories—By C. R. Mandy. The Rampart Library, No. 29, Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Price Re. 1-8-0.

"Guest of the Baron and other Stories" is a mixed bag of thirteen short stories and a one-act play. Four of them deal with Nazi Germany, "Eau-de-Cologne" being the most poignant. "Port for the old Gentleman" is a novel tale of murder. "Daphne and Chaleeo" and "Aristide's Joy" deal with Eastern methods of love-making. "The Barque" and the "Patriot" introduce the element of the unusual. The reader with a sense of humour spends "An afternoon with Mr. Wong" or resorts to "The wild Goose".

The writer shows a delicate perception of character, a talent for description, and a love of travel. This is an entertaining book of short stories.

Y. Mathias

Ourselves

LATE J. C. ACHARYA

We heard with great regret of the death of Mr. Jagat Chandra Acharya, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law. Third son of the Late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, Mr. Acharya was a brilliant student of this University with which he was connected at the time of his untimely death as a part-time Lecturer in Commercial Law. He also served in the same capacity two of its affiliated colleges, *e.g.*, The City College and the Subhas Institute of Culture. For sometime he was also a contributor to this Journal. At the time of his death he was only forty-eight. We offer our condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

* * * *

DR. N. K. SINHA PRESIDES OVER MODERN SECTION OF INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The twelfth session of the Indian History Congress was held in Christmas week at Cuttack. Dr. N. K. Sinha of the History Department of this University in presiding over its Modern History Section delivered a well thought out address. We are reproducing it elsewhere in this number of the Review. Here we only congratulate Dr. Sinha on the excellent lead he gave to the assembly of scholars over which he presided.

* * * *

THE LATE DR. D. N. CHAKRABARTY

We regret to refer to the death of Dr. D. N. Chakrabarty, Principal, Surendranath College. He was a Fellow of the University and a member of the Committee now considering the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission. In him has passed away an experienced educationist and an amiable gentleman.

* * * *

EXTENSION LECTURES

A few courses of Extension Lectures were delivered in the Darbhanga Hall of the University by some distinguished men from abroad. One of them was Dr. Carsun Chang, Chairman of the

Chinese Democratic Socialist Party', who spoke in his successive lectures on Chinese Philosophy, the Chinese Constitution and Political Thought of Modern China. The second Lecturer was Professor R. Henkl, sometime Editor 'Chroniques de Jour' and Lecturer in the Komazawa University of Tokiyo. He spoke on Comparative Literature. Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, K.C.M.G., was the third Lecturer. He belonged to the British Diplomatic Service and has recently come to the east as a representative of the British Council on a cultural mission. He spoke on "Gems of English Prose from Shakespere to Shaw" with recitations and readings from authors. His object is to rouse interest of students and intellectuals of the East in English literature and culture. The Vice-Chancellor presided over some of the meetings.

* * * *

HOW TO BUILD A SUITABLE MEMORIAL TO BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

On the 12th of the last month a meeting of the citizens of Calcutta was held in the Senate Hall to decide upon a suitable memorial to the Late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. It was presided over by H.E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju who pointed out that the best memorial to the late Professor would be to follow his example and act as he had acted as an academician and a public man. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, in addressing the gathering deplored the death of Professor Sarkar at this hour and commended his ways of life to the scholars of to-day. Two resolutions were adopted, one for raising a sufficient amount of money for erecting a building which would house an Institute of Research and the other requesting the University of Calcutta and the National Council of Education to establish a Professorship—a memorial of Dr. Sarkar.

* * * *

OPENING OF THE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR PHYSICS

On the 11th January last the Institute of Nuclear Physics whose foundation stone was laid in April, 1948, by the Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee was formally opened by Madame Joliot-Curie in the presence of an impressive gathering of scientists and other educationists. H.E. the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor made short speeches, welcoming the distinguished visitor and Professor M. N. Saha detailed the history of the Institute and its possibilities. Madame Joliot-Curie opened the Institute by cutting the red-tape and delivered a speech fitting for the occasion. The speeches delivered on the occasion will be published in a subsequent issue of this Review.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTICE

C—3281—Affl.

It is notified for general information that the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the Session 1949-50, the Girls' College, Howrah, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Bengali (Pass), Bengali Additional Vernacular, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy and Mental and Moral Philosophy to the B.A. Pass Standard, with permission to present candidates for the Examinations in the subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

The result of Syamaprasad Brahma (Hugh. 95) at the I.Sc. Examination, 1949, published in the Calcutta Gazette should read as "85 Brahma, Syamaprasad (Phy)......Presidency College" in place of "85 Brahma, Syamaprasad......Presidency College" in the First Division list.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

OTHER UNIVERSITIES

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY, SRINAGAR.

The Syndicate in its meeting held on 13th August, 1949 considered the case of Intermediate candidates who staged a walk out in the Examination in Physics Paper B on 24th June, 1949 and appointed a Sub-Committee to investigate the matter and submit a report. The Sub-Committee's recommendations were considered by the Syndicate in its meetings held on 22nd August, 1949 and on 12th October, 1949 and these were accepted. In pursuance of the acceptance of these recommendations, the following orders are hereby issued :—

Roll No.	Regd. No.	Name of the Candidate.	Father's Name.	Period of rustication.	Institution to which the candidate belongs.
111	87. S. 49	Ram Rachpal Singh	S. Bhagat Singh	One year (1949)	S. P. College, Sgr.
84	53. S. 49	Bansi Lal	L. Lachman Dass	Two years (1949-50)	Do.
252	179. S. 49	Ghulam Moh'd Parey	M. Ghulam Ahmed Parey.	One year (1949).	Do.
22	61. P. 49	Makhan Lal Kotroo	Pt. Sambhu Nath Kotroo	Do.	Kashmir Private.
254	181. S. 49	Vibhavasu Kaul	Pt. Kashyap Bandhu	Do.	S. P. College, Sgr.
315	98. S. 49	Makhan Lal Mujoo	Pt. Dina Nath Mujoo	Do.	Do.
316	99. S. 49	Moti Lal Dhar	Pt. Kashi Nath Dhar	Do.	Do.

G. A. Ashai,
Registrar.

No. K. U. 7527—49 dated Srinagar the 20-X.49.

Copy forwarded to the Registrar, Calcutta University, Calcutta for information and favour of necessary action.

G. A. Ashai,
Registrar.

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY, SRINAGAR.

The Syndicate of the Jammu and Kashmir University, have ordered that the following candidates, who have been found guilty of using unfair means in the University Examination held in 1949 have been rusticated for the period shown against each :—

Serial No., Roll No., Name, Father's Name, Period of rustication, Institution.

Matriculation Examination

1. 977. Mohan Lal Kothedar—Pt. Dina Nath—disqualified for one year (1949)—S. P. High School, Srinagar.

2. 1983. Moh'd Maqbool Shiekh—Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Shiekh—disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in Examination in 1950—Kishtwar Government High School.

3. 1039. Ghulam Mustafa Mir—M. Moh'd Sabir Mir.—Disqualified for one year (1949). S. P. High School, Srinagar.

4. 750. Kidar Nath Raina—Pt. Badrinath Raina.—Disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in the Examination for the year 1950.—National High School, Srinagar.

Intermediate Examination

5. 550. 273-S-49-Prithvi Nath Dhar—Pt. Nila Kanth Dhar—Disqualified for one year (1949)-S.P.College, Srinagar.

6. 242. 175-S-49-Daya Kishen Sapru Mirza—Pt. Radha Kishen Mirza—Disqualified for one year (1949)—S. P. College, Srinagar.

7. 829. 78-G-49—Brij Lal Phalwan—Pt. Prithvi Nath Phalwan—Disqualified for one year (1949)—Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar.

8. 198. 52-GJ-49—Krishen Chand—Dr. Mathra Dass—Disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in the examinations for 1950 and 1951 (2 years)—Government College, Jammu.

Degree Examination

9. 508-148-GJ-49—Surat Singh Sambyal-Lt. Parvin Singh Sambyal—Disqualified for 1949 and debarred from appearing in 1950 and 1951—Gandhi Memorial Government College, Jammu.

10. 362-241-A-49—Girdhari Lal Raina—Pt. Badri Nath Raina—Disqualified for 1949 and debarred from appearing in 1950 and 1951.—Amarsingh College—Srinagar.

11 485-226-GJ-49—Sukhdev Singh—Col. Nasib Singh—Disqualified for the year 1949—G.M.G. College, Jammu.

12. 261-140-A-49—Ghulam Nabi Khan—Mr. Ghulam Moh'd—Disqualified for the year 1949 and debarred from appearing in 1950 and 1951.MAmar Singh College, Srinagar.

Visharda Examination

13. 33. 33-OC-49—Makhan Lal Bhrit—Pt. Jagar Nath Bhrit—Disqualified for one year (1949)—Goverment Pathshala, Srinagar.

High Proficiency in Urdu

14. 120-9-MI-49—Syed Maqbool Ahmed—Syed Moh'd Amin—Disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in 1950. Kashmir Private.

G. A. Ashai,
Registrar,

THE BAWA BACHITTAR SINGH PRIZE ESSAY, 1950.

1. Bawa Bachittar Singh, the Vice-President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, has very kindly donated Rs. 750 as a prize or prizes, to be awarded to the best essay or essays, written by members of the armed forces including those of the Indian State Forces, Civil Services, British Officers serving in India, Retired Officers and Research Scholars and Staffs of recognized Indian Universities, on a subject relating to defence.

Subject

2. It has been decided that the subject for the Essay will be :—

"India's declared policy in regard to her relations with foreign countries is to strive for world peace, to support the United Nations, to avoid all entanglement with power Blocks and to use her good officers for the liberation of dependent peoples.
Her geographical position is of immense strategic importance.
She is greatly dependent, for some years upon imports of certain main commodities such as fuel, machinery, munitions, food.
Taking account of these factors, develop your recommendation as to the most suitable balance of Defence Forces in peace-time, for her protection in War."

Rules

3. The competition is open to all members of the Armed Forces including those of the Indian State Forces, Civil Services, British Officers serving in India, Retired Officers and Research Scholars and Staffs of recognised Indian Universities. It will be conducted by the United Service Institution of India.

4. All essays must be type-written and submitted *in triplicate.* They should not exceed 5,000 words, exclusive of tables

5. Care should be taken to avoid confidential matter. When a reference is made to any work, the title of such work must be quoted.

6. The essays must be strictly anonymous and must be under the pseudonyms of the competitors. They must be accompanied by a sealed envelope with *the pseudonym written on the outside and the name of the competitor inside.*

7. All essays must be sent by registered post, addressed to the Secretary, the United Service Institution of India, Simla, so as to reach him by the 15th February, 1950.

8. The essays will be adjudicated on their general merits by three judges chosen by the Council of the Institution. The expression of views which do not conform strictly to generally accepted opinions will not necessarily be considered to detract from their value.

9. There will be two prizes—a first prize of Rs. 500 and a second prize of Rs. 250. These will be awarded to the writers of the best and the second-best essays, as adjudicated by the judges. The names of the successful competitors will be published in the July, 1950 number of the Journal of the Institution. If in the opinion of the judges the standard of the essays submitted is not high enough to justify the awards, no prize will be awarded.

10. Essays will become the property of the Ministry of Defence absolutely and authors will not be at liberty to make any use whatsoever of their essays without the concurrence of the Ministry.

11. Official sanction will be obtained in the case of any essay submitted by a serving officer before it is published.

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

(Supplementary)

Orders passed by the Executive Council with regard to the cases of the following candidates who were expelled for using unfair means and for other reasons in the various Examinations of 1949.

I.A. Examination—Roll Jor. No. 80—Gunindrachandra Bordaloi, J. B. College, Jorhat. —Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1955.

I.Sc. Examination—Roll Shi. No. 49—Sukumar Das, St. Anthony's College, Shillong—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1953.

B.A. Examination—Roll Gau. No. N. 22—Manmath Bhattacharyya, C/o Babu Upendrakumar Bhattacharyya, Jail Road, Shillong—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1951.

B.Sc. Examination—Roll Gau. No. 26—Bepinchandra Sarmah, Cotton College, Gauhati —Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1951.

B.Com. Examination—Roll Jor. No. 19—Rupdhar Das, J. B. College, Jorhat. Roll Jor. No. 22—Golapchandra Gohain Phookan, J. B. College, Jorhat—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1958.

Memo. No. Ex/3194—3249, dated Gauhati the 24th October, 1949.

P. DATTA,
Registrar.
Gauhati University, Gauhati.

UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

D.Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Proceedings of the Syndicate

Subject : Malpractice at the University Examination, March-April, 1949.

Read (1) Report of the Chief Superintendent;
(2) Explanation of the candidate;
(3) Report of the Examiner in the subject;
(4) Recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Syndicate on Residence, Welfare and Discipline of Students.

Order

The Syndicate having found the undermentioned candidates at the University Examination, March-April 1949, guilty of misconduct or resorting to unfair means at the examination, has resolved that the examination taken by these candidates be cancelled and they be debarred from appearing at any examination of this University earlier than the date noted against their names.

P. R. PARAMESWARA PANIKKAR,
Registrar.

Serial No.	Name of Candidate	Regn. No.	Examination taken by the candidate.	Date of birth	Name of father or guardian.	Address	Where educated	Period of Punishment.
1.	Chithranjan Das	15	B.L. Degree Examination.	26-12-1097	Sri B. Krishnan	Punamood Bunglow, Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum.	H. H. The Maharaja's Law College, Trivandrum.	Not permitted to appear for any examination of this University hereafter.
2.	V. Ramanatha Ayyar	136	B.Sc. Degree	9-1-1104	Sri N. Venkitachalam Aiyar.	C/O. Sri N. Venkitachalam Aiyar, Advocate, Alleppey.	H. H. The Maharaja's University College, Trivandrum.	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
3.	S. Gopinathan Ayyar	298	Do.	21-9-1105	Sri S. Raman Pillai	Cheramel Veedu, S. Aryand, Alleppey.	Sanathana Dharma College, Alleppey.	Not to appear before March, 1950.
4.	V. I. Oomman	2074	Intermediate	14-4-1103	Sri V. J. Itticheria	Vallakkalil, Muttampalam, Kottayam.	C. M. S. College, Kottayam.	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
5.	Prabhakaran K.	1647	Do.	20-4-1100	Kachappy	Kanjiramvilakathu Veedu, Venjaramoodu. Pirappancode, A.O.	St. Berchmans' College, Changanacherry.	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
6.	E. G. Sivaram Nayar	15	Diploma Examination in Textile Technology, Part I.	11-5-1099	Sri E. N. Parameswaran Pillai.	C/O. Sri E. N. Parameswaran Pillai, Lecturer University Intermediate College, Trivandrum.	Institute of Textile Technology, Trivandrum.	Do.
7.	N. Gopinathan Nayar	1	Do. Part II	4-6-1101	Sri T. N. Nanoo Pillai.	Puthen Veedu, Karthaviam Muri, Kuzhicaa, A.O., Aranmula.	Do.	Do.
8.	P. Viswanatha Panikkar	107	Sahityavisarada Examination.	7-4-1102	Sri K. M. Parameswara Panikkar.	Karuvillil House, Eramalloor, Kuthiathode, A.O.	Private Study	Do.

9 K. Damodaran Unnithan	25	Do.	25-4-1097	Sri R. Krishnan Unnithan.	Kottungal Veedu, Parakode, Adoor.	Do.	Do.
10. N. Sivasankara Pillai	79	Sanskrit Entrance	10-1-1100	Sri N. Neelakanta Panikkar.	Keecharil House, Muthavazhi, Chengannoor	Do.	Do
11. V. P. Ranganathan	58	Do.	7-12-1105	Sri K. C. Padmanabhan	Valliyaparampil Veedu, Velikkodu, Maippattoor.	Do.	Do.

Communicated to :

(1) The Candidates, (2) The Principals of Colleges, (3) The Director of Public Instruction, Travancore, Trivandrum, (4) The Registrars of all Indian Universities, (5) The Secretary to the Public Service Commission, Trivandrum, (6) (The Secretary to the Public Service Commission, Madras. (7) The Secretary to the Federal Public Service Commission, New Delhi, (8) The Director of Public Instruction, Trippunithura ; (9) The Secretary to the Inter-University Board.

Office of the University of Travancore,
Trivandrum, August 1949.

P. R. RANAMANSWARNA PANIDA,
Registrar.

Copy forwarded to the Registrar, Calcutta University, Calcutta for information

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

LATEST PUBLICATIONS

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE
By Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De,
Royal 8vo. Pp. 833 + 120 (Introduction) Rs. 25-0-0

EXCAVATIONS AT BANGARH
By Sri Kunjagobinda Goswami
Demy ¼ to Pp. 42 with 33 Plates and a Map, Rs. 6-0-0

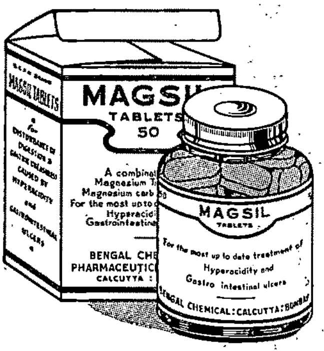
DANIEL DE FOE (His Mind and Art)
By Dr. Srichandra Sen
Demy ⅛ page 276 + xii, Rs. 5-0-0

BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN
By Dr. Jnanendra Dasgupta
Royal 8vo. Pages 125. Rs. 2-8-0

To be had of all Leading Book-Sellers of Indian Union.

FOR

RELIEF OF HYPER-ACIDITY


MAGSIL TABLETS
MAGSIL
TABLETS
50
BENGAL CHEMICAL & PHARMACEUTICAL
CALCUTTA
MAGSIL
TABLETS
For the most up to date treatment of Hyperacidity and Gastro intestinal ulcers
BENGAL CHEMICAL : CALCUTTA : BOMBAY

Rational Remedy

MAGSIL

B. C. P. W. Magnesium Trisilicate Co

NEUTRALISES EXCESS OF ACID
RELIEVES FLATULENCE AND
GASTRIC PAIN, ABSORBS
TOXIC PRODUCTS OF INDIGESTION

Specially useful in
GASTRIC ULCER
Endorsed by Medical Profession

BENGAL CHEMICAL : CALCUTTA BOMBAY

Regd. No. C.1063 Third Series (Estd. 1844)

LEXIN THERAPY

NEWER USES OF LEXIN

Snake-bite : Lexin inhalation and injection.

Opium Poisoning : Lexin inhalation and intravenous injection 1 c.c. to 4 c.c. Repeat as required.

Influenza : Put a few drops on handkerchief and inhale deeply for a few minutes; repeat every now and then till relief.

Hysteria : } **Epilepsy** : } Inhale as above; or put a drop or two into nostril; this breaks the fit.

Cholera : Inject 2 c.c. intramuscularly, repeat every hour if necessary. If no pulse, inject 2 c.c. intravenous.

Collapse : Intravenous injection 2 c.c.

Trauma and Surgical Shock : } Intravenous injection 1 c.c

Bleeding from any orifice : Inject 2 c.c. intramuscular or 1 c.c. intravenous

P. BANERJI, Mihijam, E.I.R., India

D. N. Bose's Hosiery

FACTORY

"The Best at the Start — The Best even To-Day"

SANKHA & PADMA

BRAND

For Really Durable and Best Quality Genjee—
Ask for above renowned Brand

36-1A, SARKAR LANE, CALCUTTA
Phone : B. B. 6056

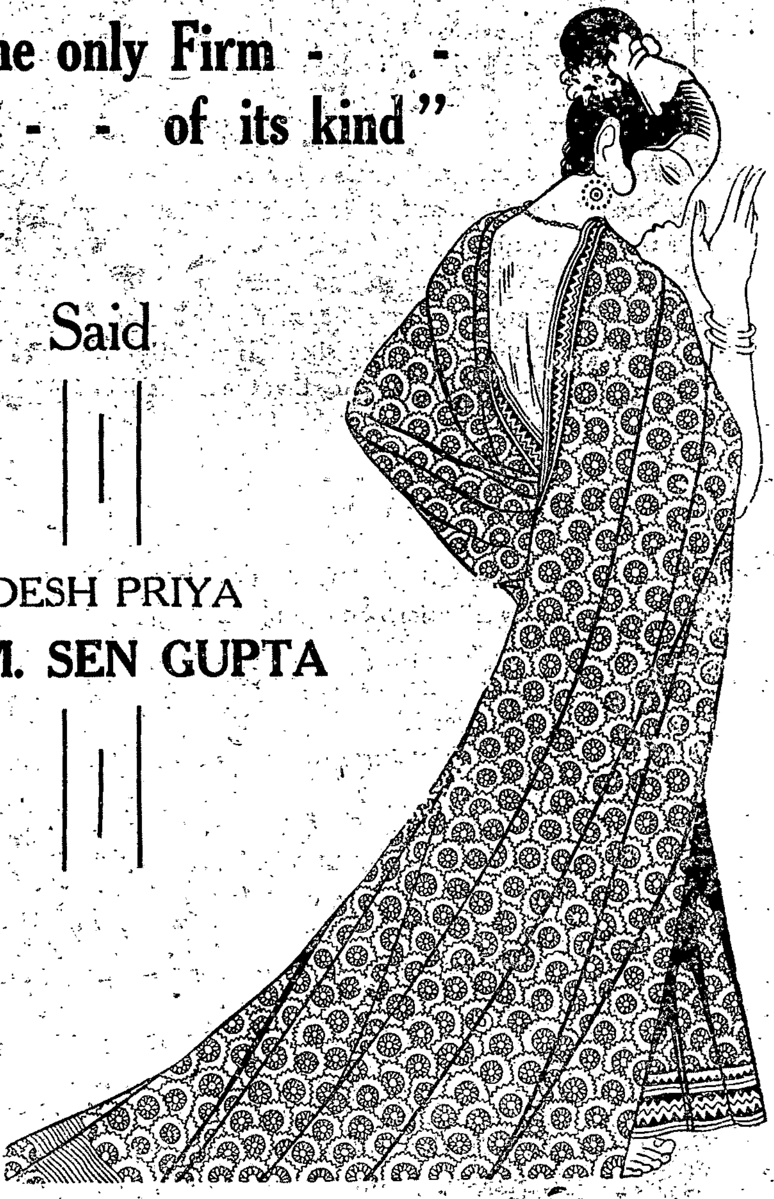
Printed and Published by Sibendranath Kanjilal, Superintendent (Offg.),
Calcutta University Press, 48, Hazra Road, Calcutta.

Annual Rs. 7-8 Single Copy As. 12

"The only Firm - - -
- - - - of its kind"

Said

DESH PRIYA
J. M. SEN GUPTA



Indian silk House

COLLEGE STREET MARKET, CALCUTTA
PHONE B. B. 411

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Subscription

Annual subscription	...	Rs. 7-8 (with postage)
Half-yearly ,,	...	Rs. 4 ,, ,,
Single number	...	12 as. per copy.
Foreign, Annual	...	14*s*. net (with postage)
,, Half-yearly	...	7*s*. 6*d*. ,, ,,
,, Single number	...	1*s*. 6*d*.

Scale of Advertisement Charges

			Rs.
Front Cover Page	...	...	45 (per insertion
Back and Inside Cover Page		...	35 (,,
Full Page	...	...	30 (,,
Half Page	...	...	17 (,,
Quarter Page	...	...	10 (,,

All *Subscriptions* are *payable in advance.* The year of the *Calcutta Review* begins in October, and it is desirable that subscription should commence with October or April ; but the *Review* may be supplied from any other month as well. *Cheques* on banks situated outside Calcutta are not accepted. *Terms* are strictly cash, or value payable on delivery by post. Complaints of non-receipt of any issue should reach this office before 15th of that month. In all cases it is necessary that the *Subscriber Number* should be quoted. The *Review* comes out on the 1st of every month, and there are 12 issues in the year.

Advertisement : Advertisers should send revised advertisement copies if necessary within the 15th of the preceding month.

Contributions : The Editorial Board of the *Calcutta Review* will be pleased to receive contributions on subjects of general cultural and educational interest, as also articles on current political, economic, social and cultural topics and movements of national and international significance. Highly technical articles are discouraged, except when they aim at a high standard of scholarship and literary excellence.

Sailendra Nath Mitra,
Naresh Chandra Roy.
Jt. Hony. Secretaries, Board of Editors.

CHOICEST INDIAN TEA LEAVES IN A
MATCHLESS BLEND
TOSH'S TEA
The Popular Quality Tea of India : A pleasure to drink & to offer
A. TOSH & SONS
TEA MERCHANTS
11-1, HARRISON ROAD, CALCUTTA.

THE COMILLA UNION BANK

LIMITED.

ESTD. 1922

REGD. OFFICE : 8, NETAJI SUBHAS ROAD, CALCUTTA.

Authorised Capital	...	...	Rs.	2,00,00,000
Issued & Subscribed Capital ...		...	,,	1,00,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	...	,,	1,00,00,000
Paid up Capital	...	over	,,	82,00,000
Reserve Fund	...	over	,,	34,23,000

An well established Bank carrying on business on sound lines far more than 26 years.

Branches at important trade centres in India and Pakistan and transacting Exchange Business of every description with all principal commercial places of the world. Terms may be ascertained on application.

Current and Savings account opened and interest allowed at 1/4 p.c. and 1 p.c. respectively. Fixed Deposits accepted for 6 and 12 months. Terms on application.

Loans and Advances allowed against approved securities.

Bills discounted and collected.

Managing Director : DR. S. B. DUTT.

No. 1

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CENTRAL LIBRARY

Spring is the time

"Plans, too, can blossom
With cultivation and care their fruit is richer.
Spring is the time for planning, a time of New growth.
Sow now the seeds of the present for the fruits of the future.
Plan now not one year's but a life time.
Not one flower but a garden of lasting achievment."

PLAN WITH A

HINDUSTHAN POLICY

For a harvest of peace and happiness

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LTD.
HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS, 4, Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA

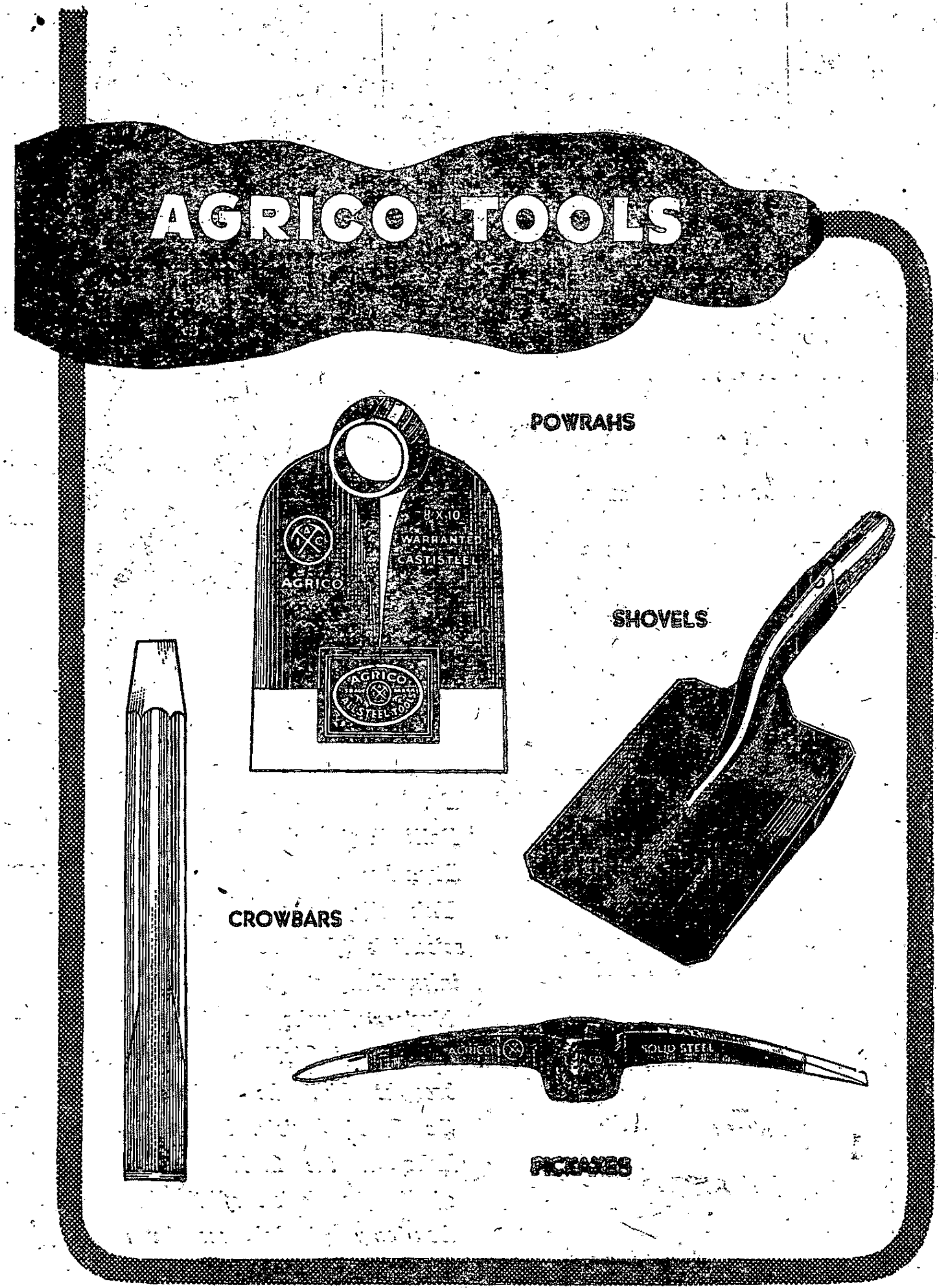
ADVERTISEMENT

IN THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

IS AN

INVESTMENT


AGRICO TOOLS
POWRAHS
8 X 10
WARRANTED
CAST STEEL
AGRICO
AGRICO
ALL STEEL TOOLS
SHOVELS
CROWBARS
AGRICO
SOLID STEEL
PICKAXES

A I C
TRADE MARK

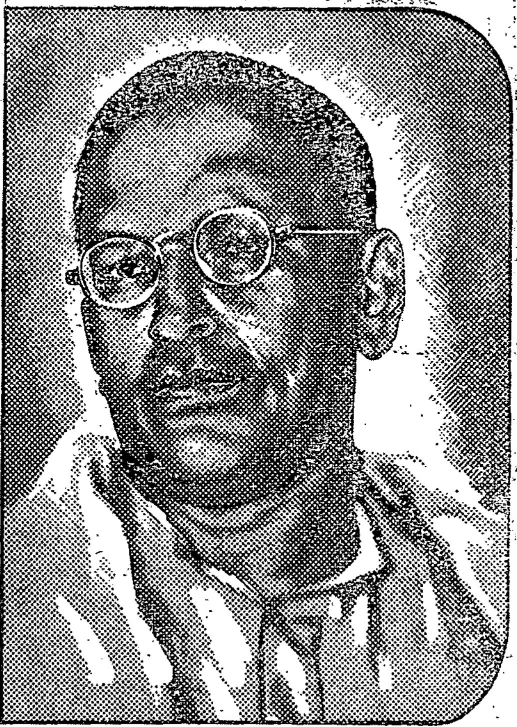
THE TATA IRON
& STEEL CO., LTD.

Head Sales Office:
23B, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta.

"*I take tea everyday*

at least twice and find it quite invigorating. I am not aware that it has produced any harmful effect on my health. On the contrary, the morning cup makes me cheerful and renders me fit for starting the day's work.",

M. N. Saha



TEA

for Inspiration

ITX 326

☆ *Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., Palit Professor and Head of the Department of Physics, Calcutta University, is one of the most eminent scientists of India and is famous internationally for his work on Nuclear Physics, especially on the Theory of Stellarspectra which brought him the Fellowship of the Royal Society. He represented India at the 220th Anniversary of the foundation of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1945.*

☆

INSERTED BY
THE CENTRAL TEA BOARD

CALCUTTA NATIONAL BANK LIMITED

Head Office: CALCUTTA NATIONAL BANK BUILDINGS,
MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA

Paid up Capital: ... Rs. 50,00,000/-
Reserves over: ... Rs. 24,00,000/-

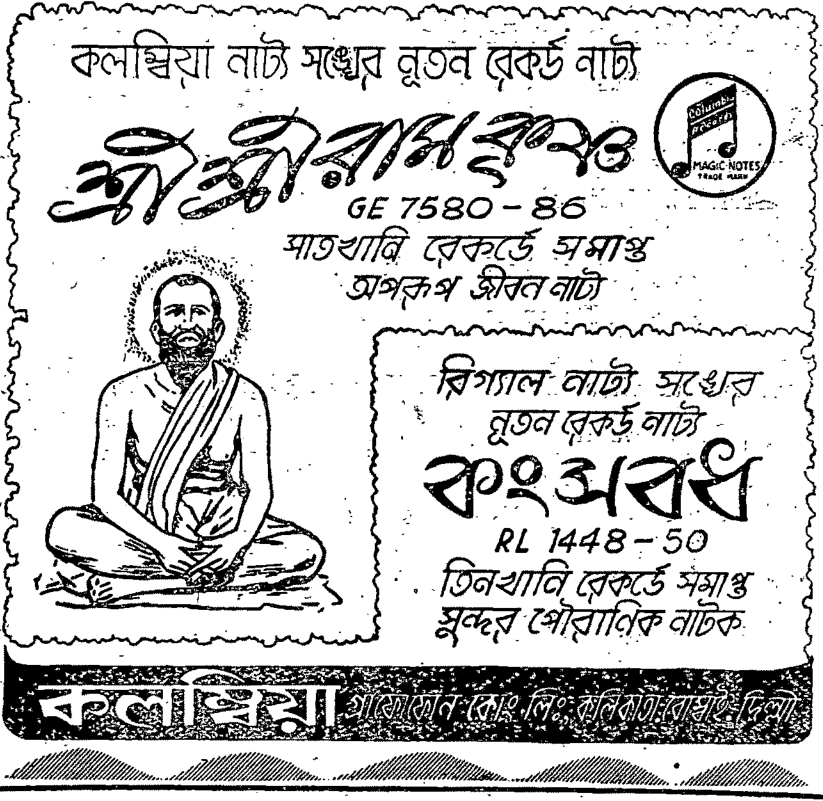
BRANCH OFFICES:

Calcutta
Ballygunge
Bhowanipore
Barabazar
Canning St.
Hatkhola
High Court
Kalighat
Shambazar
Delhi
Lucknow
Allahabad
Katra
Banares
Patna
Gaya
Cuttack
Asansol
Bombay (Fort)
Kalvadevi
Sandhurst Rd.
Ahmedabad
Ajmer
Agra
Kanpur
Meston Rd.
Bareilly
Madras
Nagpur
Nagpur City
Amraoti
Jubbulpore
Jubbulpore Cant.
Raipur
Chittagong
Dacca

London Agents: MIDLAND BANK LTD.

Current, Savings and Fixed Deposit Accounts accepted in all the offices of the Bank. Interest on Savings Bank deposits allowed at 1½ p.c. per annum. Withdrawals by cheques.

Have an account with the "CALCUTTA NATIONAL"



কলম্বিয়া নাট্য সঙ্ঘের নূতন রেকর্ড নাট্য

শ্রীশ্রীরামকৃষ্ণ

GE 7580-86

সাতখানি রেকর্ডে সমাপ্ত
অপরূপ জীবন নাট্য

রিগ্যাল নাট্য সঙ্ঘের
নূতন রেকর্ড নাট্য

কংসবধ

RL 1448-50

তিনখানি রেকর্ডে সমাপ্ত
সুন্দর পৌরাণিক নাটক

কলম্বিয়া গ্রামোফোন কোং লিঃ, কলিকাতা-বোম্বাই-দিল্লী

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1950

CONTENTS

PAGE

A Dream of Greater Bengal and Greater India 171
Dr. Tamonash Chandra Das Gupta

Philosophy of Science 181
Prabasjiban Chaudhuri

The Dollar Problem 187
Sarathinath Seth

Who was the Aggressor ? 195
Sukumar Bhattacharyya

Philosophical Congrees at Patna 202
Dr. A. C. Das

Causerie on Letters 205
Prof. M. M. Desai

The Maritime People of Ancient India 217
Pareschandra Dasgupta

Excavations at Chandidas Mound, Nanoor, District Birbhum ... 222
K. G. Goswami

Round the World 235

Reviews and Notices of Books 242

Ourselves 245

Notifications 242

318.5
005

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1950

A DREAM OF GREATER BENGAL AND GREATER INDIA

DR. TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer, Calcutta University

The geographical, linguistic, cultural, ethnical and administrative boundaries of India as well as of Bengal and East India with their significance in relation to India as a whole, are vague and varied connoting differently in different epochs.

To be precise for the sake of avoiding any complexity and lengthy discussions, we may say that Eastern India is a separate unit by itself. In the hoary past India or "Bhārat-Varsha" was geographically divided as follows:

Uttarāpatha, Madhya-desa, Prāchya, Dakṣināpatha, Drāvida and Uttarākhanda. "Uttarāpatha" or the "Northern Highway" of the Vedic Aryans seems to be the land now covered by the Punjab (East and West), Rajputana, Sind, Gujarat and the N. W. F. (Peshwar) provinces. "Madhya-desa" or the Middle country (North-midland) of the Gangetic plain is roughly now what we know by U. P., Malwa plateau of Central India, Bundelkhand and the land to the south up to the Vindhya ranges or better the Narbada river. "Prāchya" or the "East-land" (Eastern India) comprises approximately the areas of Bengal proper, Assam, Chota-Nagpur, Baghelkhand, Orissa (including the States' area), Chhattisgarh Division of C.P., the Bastar State and the Northern circars sea-board of present Madras Province (once known as Kalinga or Andhra's part) up to the river Godavari. By "Dakṣināpatha" or the "Southern Highway" we understand the area of country from the Nerbudda river on the north to the Krisṇā river with its tributary the Tumbhadrā (Tungabhadrā river) on the south. The Arabian sea lies to the west of this area and a narrow neck of sea-board of the Drāvida country lies to its east. Thus "Dakṣināpatha" covers the Province of Mahārāṣṭra or Bombay, Berar, C. P. and the Nizam's late territories. South of the river Krisṇā and up to Cape Comorin, the whole area of land may be called the "Drāvida" country. By "Uttarā-Khanda" or the "Northern area" was meant the Himalayan mountain tracts which may now easily merge in the three great Divisions of Northern India or "Aryāvarta" (as opposed to "Dākṣinātya" or the whole of south India) of ancient India, just as the ancient countries Brahmāvarta and "Brahmarṣidesa" merged in the Punjab country.

India with its varied physical features, climates and temperatures with its people representing nearly all the races of the world is a vast country or sub-continent lying in the tropics, within 40 degrees north of the equator and justly called as the epitome of the world.

Geographically Eastern India "Prāchya" has quite a good natural boundary. It includes to its north the majestic Himalayas with the states of Nepal (at least Nepal Valley), Sikkim, Bhutan and some tribal areas in its easternmost part. The eastern boundary is normally taken as the Patkoi, Naga, Manipur and Lushai Hills as also the Chittagong Hill tracts. It may be extended further, so as to include all the lands west of the Irrawaddy river of Burma. This added portion composed of sparsely populated aboriginal areas, includes the Hukong Valley, the Kachin country, the Chindwin area, the ChinHills country, Arakan and Bassein up to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. To the south of Eastern India is the wide sea-board of the Bay of Bengal which almost resembles a crescent. To the west of this Bay, the boundary follows the Godavari river up to Ben-Ganga. The western boundary follows the river Ben-Ganga upwards up to Maikal range. There is a knot of rivers at this Hill range, the chief rivers being Ben-Ganga, Narbada and the Son. The western boundary follows this Son river up to the Ganges near Patna and then follows the course of Gandak river upwards up to the Himalayas. This natural frontier may now be contracted considerably owing to the influence of the Hindi-speaking people and the proximity of U. P. In that case from the Son river *via* the Gaya Hill range and the Phalgu or Niranjanā river one may draw a line up to the Ganges to its south. Then to its north the course of the river Buri-Gandak may be followed upwards up to the Himalayan range.

The vast area of Eastern India may be called "Prāchya" for want of a better term. In old Sanskrit literature we find also a new division of India into four parts, such as "Udichi" (the "north" or the northern country, the "Abāchi" or the "Dakṣin" (the south or the southern country), "Prāchi" (the "east" or the eastern country) and "Pratichi" (the "west" or the western country). This eastern portion of India "Prāchya" not only possesses very big rivers like the Brahmaputra, the Ganges, the Padmā, the Meghna, the Teesta and the Mahānadi but also the snow-clad mountain ranges of the Himalayas, a large number of forestclad hills, valleys, forests, river-plains, rivers and rich mineral wealth etc. In short, nature has bestowed very liberally all her choicest gifts as stated above, including flora and fauna, to this part of the globe which have attracted so many invaders in all ages for rapacity or settlement.

Ethnically Eastern India is inhabited by various races many of whom originally came to this country in Pre-historic period. The total number of population in this country will perhaps exceed 13 crores. The earliest population here were of Negrito stock now almost extinct, save and except, the Andaman islands and some nooks and corners of India itself. The next people were the Austrics who once spread over all the NorthIndia riverplains from Bengal and Assam to Peshwar and Sind provinces. Their existence has been surmised in the Mohen-jo-Daro finds. These Austrics now live in large numbers in Central Indian or Gondowana belt of India, including Chhattisgar, Orissa and the Sonthal Parganas. Austric blood is surmised in a large majority of people of Bengal proper. After the Austrics who came to India by its eastern gates and the sea from the South-East Asia and the adjoining islands, the Pamirians were perhaps the next arrivals from the North-West of India. They were hilly people originally of the Pamir Zone and belonged to the Alpine branch of the Caucasians. They also spread over the Northern Indian riverplains and some scholars trace them in the Mohen-jo-Daro period. Race-pressure made them move to the east in Bengal and the adjoining localities, as the Austrics shifted to Central Indian Gondowana region. These Pamirians were Brace-cephalic (round-headed) people and their blood is supposed by scholars to be contained in many upper classes of Bengal. Whether the Dravidians came before the Pamirians or after them, is not definitely known. The Dravidians seem to be the Proto-Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race and they entered India by its north-western gate before the Aryans. They also once spread over a large tract of Northern India and pressure of the Aryan race again from the north-west drove them to take refuge in South India. The Tibeto-Burmans entered India by its north-eastern passes like some of the Austrics, but after them, and they settled in large numbers in the Himalayas, Bengal proper and Assam. The Dravidians entered Bengal from the south by the sea-board of Bay of Bengal and settled in Orissa and West-Bengal. However, all the races intermixed at different periods of history. The Aryans or Vedic-Aryans were the latest arrivals in India and so also in Eastern India, and perhaps they belonged to the Nordic branch of the great Caucasian race.

The Austrics and the Pamirians mixed together in Bengal and the present Bengali people has evolved chiefly out of them. The Austrics, perhaps, were numerically greater than the other races coming to Bengal. Later on, the Mongolians also mixed up with the Austro-Alpines. Besides, the Bengali blood also contains in a lesser degree the Dravidian and the Aryan blood. These happened many centuries before the birth of Christ. The older view as championed by Risley is that the Bengalis are really Mongolo-Dravidians and the present view of Giuffrida Ruggeri and others is that they are Austro-Alpines. It should be mentioned here that the Vedic Aryans, the Pamirians and the Dravidians are all Caucasians.

If one gives a look to East India which extends, as described before, from the Himalayas to the Godavari and from the Ben-Ganga-Son rivers to the Irrawaddy river (Burma), it will no doubt be obvious to him, that the area contains almost all the principal races of the globe with the zone containing admixture in population remarkably in the middle portion, hitherto known as Bengal proper.

This middle portion of Eastern India as also of Greater Bengal is Bengal proper, and is one of the most densely peopled lands of the Earth and contains the most fertile soil evolved out of and drained by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers. This area alone contains about 6½ crores of highly cultured and intelligent population.

The area of Eastern India "*Prachya*" to the east of Bengal proper up to the Irrawaddy perhaps contains a population of less than 2 crores. Likewise the population in the area to the west up to the Godavari river will be about 4 crores. Thus the total population of Eastern India will be nearly 13½ crores. Of course, this is a very rough calculation. Both the areas herein mentioned are mostly sparsely populated and covered with dense forests and hill-ranges, save and except some well populated localities in Behar, Orissa and the Northern Circars (ancient Kalinga). Thus the central portion of Eastern India, known as Bengal (now divided as West Bengal and East Pakistan) is not only very rich in natural resources but also well-peopled by one of the most advanced and intelligent races of the world.

A large part of the Western portion of Eastern India belongs to the Central Indian Plateau or belt, inhabited by a number of primitive tribes belonging to the Mundari or Kolarian group of the Austric race. This area is Chota-Nagpur and Baghelkhund. To its north Bihar affords a good land for the Aryans or Aryanised Dravido-Pamirians (?) where population is rather thick on both the banks of the Ganges and culture well-established.

The area of Bihar may fall into two natural divisions, the river Ganges flowing between the two. The northern part contains the ancient Bideha or Mithila tract (now within Trihut administrative division) which has all the affinities with Bengal in language, culture and manners and was long under the rule of Bengal during the Hindu, Muslim and British periods. Mithila specialised in Astronomy and the Nyāya -Philosophy adopted and improved by Bengal which on the other hand gave Mithila her Vaisnavism during the days of the Hindu rule of the Senas. The "Brajabuli" dialect used in Vaisnavapada Literature of Bengal also connects Mithila closely with Bengal. The south Bihar or Magadha which flourished well during the period of the Sanskrit epic the Mahabharata, was once a great power in Eastern India. In historical period the Mauryas transferred the capital of the kingdom from the Hill-girt Rajgir (Rajgriha) to Pataliputra on the bank of the Ganges. This Magadhan kingdom attained imperial position and ruled the major part of India for a long time under various dynasties. But it was reserved for the kingdom of Gaur in Bengal proper under the Palas to make substantial improvement of this area culturally in a later period. The two Buddhist Universities of Nalanda and Bikramsila in this area were liberally supported by them and from this place Buddhist missionaries eventually converted Tibet to Mahāyāni Buddhism. This part, like Mithila was under Bengal from very ancient time till 1911 A.D. when it was separated by the British with other parts of Bihar. However, in this tract the local dialect is "Magadhi" which has affinities both with Hindi and Bengali. Besides these two divisions of Mithila and Magadha. Eastern Bihar on both the banks of the Ganges is also taken as a separate unit and falls within the Bhagalpur Division of Bihar as established by the British in later dates. This area once formed the kingdoms of Aṅga and Champā. Bhagalpur Division is composed mainly from some border tracts of Bengal which became a part of Bihar under British rule.

Commercially and economically Bihar is mostly dependent on Bengal and without the help of Bengal her economic existence is extremely in danger. Now the example and affinity of her western neighbour U. P. in respect of language and culture has captivated the mind of many modern Biharis and the separation of Bihar from Bengal with an independent existence made a schism between the two. Under these present unfortunate circumstances there is no way out of it and a few Western Districts of both North and South Bihar may be left outside the pale of Greater Bengal and so of Eastern India. Now we may divide Bihar into two fresh parts and the dividing line may be drawn by the rivers Buri-Gandak and the Phalgu with the hill-ranges of Gaya which are geographically a part of Chota-Nagpur. The Gaya hills reaching the Son river may make a good southern boundary of the excluded portions of Bihar composed of Sahabad (Arrah), Patna (in part), Muzaffarpore, Saran and Champaran Districts. Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Gaya, Monghyr and Sonthal Parganas Districts should go under Bengal or rather Greater Bengal and so form a part of Eastern India. Gaya, the nucleus of the ancient Magadhan kingdom, and the Sonthal Parganas are the two Districts which are geographically within the limits of Chota-Nagpur. From the above, we hope, it is sufficiently clear that Bengal cannot forego her claims over certain Districts of Bihar in the east, even if she has to lose some in the west, due to present adverse conditions. If Greater Bengal at all loses Bihar, then also the two Districts of Purnea and the Sonthal Parganas should be joined with the former.

Geographically Chota-Nagpur is a big area of jungles and hills inhabited by the Kolarian or Mundari tribes of Austric origin. The Bengalis use to visit and many have already settled in the Sonthal Parganas (geographically within Chota-Nagpur), Manbhum, Singhabhum, Ranchi and Hazaribagh Districts of this area. Chota-Nagpur is mainly composed of the two plateaus of Ranchi and Hazaribagh. To the Bengalis of ancient time this land was known as Jhārkhanda as frequently referred to in Vaisnava literature of Bengal. Chota-

Nagpur was for a long time under the administration of Bengal and separated in recent times and put under Bihar by the British rulers. Culturally and linguistically the Mundari people depend upon the Bengalis for their salvation. In manners and customs Bengal is their ideal. Geographically many West-Bengal rivers like Subarnarekha and Damodar have their origin in Chota-Nagpur hills. Bengal has also vested interests in industrial concerns like mining in this zone. It has good similarities physically with the border Districts of West-Bengal; and tradition and history point out innumerable contacts of Chota-Nagpur people with the people of West-Bengal. Even in certain features of religion, such as the worship of Siva, Chandi and Dharma deities Chota-Nagpur and West-Bengal have close affinities. In the fields of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism Gaya, Pareshnath Hills and certain local areas played a part which only Bengal appreciated and not Bihar.

Orissa or Utkal (lit. northern Kaliṅga) occupy the north-west corner of the sea-board of Bengal. Bengal has always been in close touch with Orissa. The population of this province including the aboriginies, such as the Khonds, is mainly Austric in character with some admixture of the Dravidians and the Aryans among upper classes. There is also some admixture of the Bengalis in Orissa and this admixture is also noticeable in the southern Districts of West-Bengal. Not only that many Bengalis have permanently settled in Orissa but also Bengali language has much influence in this province. In fact, there is very little difference between Bengali and Oriya languages, excepting the script. Puri of Orissa carries the sacred memories of Sri Chaitanya even today. For a long time (after the loss of her glorious independence) in different epochs of her history, the province was under Bengal including the late British period. It separated from Bengal and joined with Bihar in 1911 A.D. It is only at recent times that Orissa became again fully separate by cutting its connections from Bihar. So far for some of the western parts of Eastern India.

Now, as regards the Eastern part of Eastern India or the lands to the east of Bengal proper, it may be said, Assam as a province contains both hilly area and river plains. In hilly area various tribal peoples have made their settlements. There are two valleys in Assam, named the Brahmaputra valley and the Surma Valley. The aboriginal tribes mostly dwell in the Hills. Thus the present Province of Assam is a heterogenous combination of hilly or wooded tribal areas and river-plains. These are as follows:

(1) The Brahmaputra Valley.

(2) The Surma Valley.

(3) The Hill-area south of the Brahmaputra Valley.

(4) The Hill-area of the Eastern Frontier.

Area No. 1 is a Bengali-speaking area and major part of the population is Bengali by race. This major population has two strata *e.g.*, the earlier and the later. The earlier Bengali people after their settlement, have some admixture of Mongolian blood within them and are known as the "Asamiyās". Their script is fully Bengali and their language known as the "Asamiyā" is nothing but a local-dialect of Bengali like many other dialects of this Province (Bengal). Their tongue and intonation have also these local peculiarities. The present Bengali settlers are full-blooded Bengalis who far out-number their earlier brethren and their modern migrations are not looked on with good grace by the Asamiyās, more for political than for ecomomic or religious out look.

The next people of the Brahmaputra valley are the Ahoms, a branch of the great Thāi group of the Mongolians, who migrated to this area coming from the north-east. Ahoms of the Brahmaputra valley, the Manipuris of the Eastern Frontier (Assam), the Shans of Upper Burma and many upper class Siamese all belong to this Thāi group. Besides, the kingdoms of Prāgjyotishpur and Sonitpur of mythological age, and Kamrup in historical period, in the Western part of this valley was the nucleus of a powerful kingdom up to Sibsagar side in the eastern part. The Ahoms found this powerful kingdom and once they were a strong power in this valley, though now relegated to the back-ground by the Asamiyās who are never known to have established any kingdom in this valley. Yet, the Asamiyās have two powerful centres of activity, one in Gauhati (Western Brahmaputra Valley) and another at Jorhat (Eastern Brahmaputra Valley), the majority of the Asamiyā people of the former being Hindu and the latter Moslem. In the whole of Assam province the Hindu Asamiyās of Gauhati (Dt. Kamrup) locality have the greatest voice in shaping the destiny of the province.

Besides the Bengalis there is a good number of people from Bihar and Chota-Nagpur localities working in the tea plantations of the whole of Assam.

No. 2 area, the Surma Valley, comprising the two Districts of Sylhet and Cachar may be called as totally Bengali, save and except, the Cachari population who once found a powerful monarchy in this zone. By the lapse of time these Cacharis too have now grown to be Bengalis. The whole Surma Valley now speaks Bengali tongue and possesses Bengali sentiment. The Surma Valley people rival the Asamiyās and are quite antagonistic to their ambitions to lord over the people of the Surma Valley. Before recent partition of Bengal, Surma Valley wanted to be joined with Bengal which her present geographical position does not allow. South of Sylhet District the native State of Tipperah (India) has always earned fame as the place where Bengali language received support by its Rajas.

No. 3 area of Assam comprising the Garo Hills, the Khāsi Hills, the Jayantia Hills and the Nāgā Hills inhabited by the aboriginal tribes, the districts being named after them. The Bengalis and the British-sponsored European Christian Missionaries are the two factors to culturally unify and uplift them. Naturally the former should now come forward for the above heavy responsibility and the influence of the latter should now gradually cease.

No. 4 area consists of the state of Manipur and the Lushai Hills District. To the south of the latter, the District of Hill Chittagong, though also a frontier District and once a part of Chittagong Division of united Bengal never belonged to Assam. It now falls within the area of Eastern Pakistan after partition. The aboriginal tribes here are trying to uplift themselves as Bengalis and Bengal's claim over this District has never been disputed. Regarding the cases of Manipur and the Lushai Hills, it may be said, that their contact with Bengal at different times under British rule made the people of these two localities friendly to the Bengalis and both economically and as frontier zones they have no other way but to remain faithfully within Bengal for mutual benefit.

Thus, the whole Province of Assam needs joining with the undivided Bengal and the present artificial condition of divided Bengal can never stand for a long time.

By extension of Greater Bengal to the east, the Hunkong Valley, the Kachin Valley, the Chindwin Valley and the Chin Valley whose eastern frontier is the river Irrawaddy should be strongly claimed by Eastern India as its easternmost part. River Irrawaddy is sacred to the Hindus who annually perform religious ablutions here. Besides political and military needs, this sparsely populated backward area of Upper Burma is extremely useful and necessary for the expansion of Eastern India. To keep in check the Mongolian migration into

India from Burma and China the area must remain within India. The area is also extremely valuable for India for its mineral wealth as also for settlement of its population.

To the south of the above provinces, the territories of Arakan or Roshang and Bassein have all along joined hands with India in the fields of culture and politics. Bengali language and literature found good patronage in the Court of Arakan in the 17th century when one Magan Thakur was Prime Minister here. In this century the arrival of Prince Suja, a son of the Moghul Emperor Sahajahan, as a fugitive to this court and the tragic consequences that followed, are matters of history. From the 17th to the 18th century the political connection of Arakan with Bengal was very unhappy. Along with the Portuguese pirates the Arakanese made constant inroads to Bengal by sea and thereby destroyed Bengal's peace and happiness in the South-East for a long time, as the Mahratta Bargis committed the same by land in south-western side of the Province in the 18th century. However, then many Arakanese settled in South-Bengal and at first posing as conquerors, later on have been carrying on trade and keeping good relationship with the Districts of Chittagong and Backergunge. The people of Arakan are known as the Mags and the people of Bassein joined them (the Arakanese) in all the cruel activities of their neighbours. Political and cultural relationship of these two provinces of Burma are very deep-rooted. Social, religious and economic factors joining these two countries with Bengal are not less important. Thus these two lands are essential parts of Eastern India and not of Burma with the people of which the Arakanese are always at variance.

(To be continued.)

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

PRABASJIBAN CHAUDHURY, M.A., M.SC.
Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

1. The object of this essay is to examine the claims of the newly-sprung subject called 'philosophy of science' to the position of a special branch of philosophy. We will first consider that part of philosophy of science which studies scientific method and next that part which studies the content of science and seeks to raise a philosophical structure on the basis of science. Speculation on the method of science is not a novel phenomenon in human thought : it is found in Aristotle's logic, and, in a well-developed form, it is in the writings of Bacon, Galelio and Newton ; later it found such able minds to harbour it as of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, and later still, of such acute scientific thinkers as Ernst Mach, Karl Pearson and Henri Poincaré. Yet the modern speculation on scientific method assumes some special importance and has attracted the best minds, a large majority of whom are scientists. The last feature, *viz.*, the preponderance of scientists among the thinkers on scientific methodology, if rightly interpreted, would explain the prominence which the subject has lately acquired. For now it is not in a mood of idle speculation that one philosophises on science, rather one seriously feels that unless the scientists are well-aware of the procedure which they have to follow, that is, unless there is a clear, definite and commonly accepted theory of scientific method, further progress of science is but a matter of chance. The older scientists, for instance, Galelio and Newton, did not have to depend for their following of a correct method of science, and so for their discoveries in science, on any understanding of scientific methodology ; in fact, we find a cleavage between their theory and practice. Galelio believed in atomistic mechanism and Newton suspected theorising in science, both of these positions go against a correct theory of scientific procedure which these men followed without understanding it. Even in the case of Poincaré and Pearson no marked connection between their theory and practice of science can be found. Perhaps Einstein had such scientist-philosophers in his mind when he wrote the following. "If you wish to learn from the theoretical physicist anything about the methods which he uses, I would give

you the following piece of advice : Don't listen to his words, examine his achievements." [1]

But this disjunction between science and philosophy of science, and consequently a very haphazard procedure of scientific research, could not continue when with the rapid advance of science, especially physics, many old scientific concepts had to be given up and quite newer ones substituted for them. For instance, the Newtonian mechanics with all its assumptions was declared inadequate to systematise and explain all the scientific data, and the theories of relativity and quantum mechanics with their far-reaching and revolutionary implications had to be instituted in the place of this classical theory in physics. Such changes in the subject-matter of science entailed also a change in the older mode of apprehending the method of science, the mode being one of indifference nourished by a simple faith that science can best progress when let alone. Now, when the scientists faced many difficult problems of description and interpretation of phenomena (one being the problem of describing the non-picturable entities in mathematical formulae and of interpreting them) they enquired into the methods and presuppositions of their science and felt for the first time the need for explicating scientific methodology. Now it appeared to them that to advance scientific theories and to philosophise on the methods of science are not distinct activities, they are inter-related and should work hand in hand for steady advancement of science. The scientists have realised this recently and are philosophising on their subject for the sake of doing better justice to it. Philosophising is no luxury with them now as it is done to meet the demands of science itself and their entrance into the arena of philosophy should not be regarded as an 'intrusion' by the professional philosophers. The latter still enjoy their jurisdiction over scientific method, yet it is modestly suggested by the scientists that they may also throw some light on the matter that concerns them so intimately.

This fact then, that philosophy of scientific method now is a concern of the scientists themselves, that it affects the course of science in a significant manner, is responsible for the recently grown importance of the subject. It remains, as before, a branch of philosophy, but has acquired added status owing to its closer relationship with science which now commands great prestige by virtue of its revolutionary discoveries both in its theoretical and practical fields.

---

[1] *On the Method of Theoretical Physics.* (1933) p. 5.

2. Now we come to consider that part of philosophy of science which deals with the content of science and seeks to construct philosophical schemes on the basis of science. But we have to consider the precise relation which this philosophy of science bears to science. The relation is the same as that between science and nature,—this seems to be the simplest way to conceive it and has been suggested by A. C. Benjamin.[1] He writes, "If the task of science is to explain scientific data by means of scientific hypotheses then the task of the philosophy of science is to explain philosophical data by means of philosophical hypotheses *but the philosophical data are precisely the scientific hypotheses in their relationship with the scientific data*".[2] Scientific data are systematised and explained by scientific hypotheses which are confirmed by testing against the former, philosophical hypotheses, systematise and explain these scientific hypotheses and seek higher syntheses though these are a stage further removed from the original data of science and so are less confirmable. But this is only a difference in the *degree* of confirmability, the *method* of philosophical confirmation is the same as that of scientific confirmation. Now the above thesis regarding the relation between science and philosophy cannot be called a philosophical one for it judges philosophy itself; we should rather call it a metaphilosophical hypothesis.

Some common objections are directed against the possibility of a philosophy of science and any one who advances a philosophical theory on the basis of scientific researches must meet these objections beforehand. The most common objection is that "philosophy of science is too vague and speculative to warrant serious consideration". But we may reply (after Prof. Benjamin) that scientific hypotheses too are vague and speculative "by comparison with the data in terms of which they are verified." The scientific facts contain much that is hypothetical in character, the ultimate brute facts can only be verified in terms of denotative gestures, even the simplest commonsense data of experience is shot through by interpretative and hypothetical elements. Thus the philosophical hypotheses differ from the scientific ones only in the *degree* of complexity of the verificatory process and not in the *kind* of the process. And if one wants to reject all hypotheses and wants to be content with the bare data of experience (like some anti-metaphysical scientists of our time), there is but one practical suggestion for him,—this that hypotheses have always proved fruitful to the scientists in their research work.

---

[1] See his essay "Science and Philosophy of Science" in *Philosophy of Science* (Vols. 5, No. 4.)

[2] *Ibid.* p. 422.

Another objection to philosophy of science is that it is *a priori* and goes against the scientific spirit, science being *a posteriori*. Now, this objection can be met by simply stating that science is not necessarily *a posteriori* and that philosophy of science is not necessarily *a priori*. There are scientific hypotheses which are first somehow intuited by some scientific genius and later found to regulate the data of science, science is not so strictly empirical in its procedure as it is sometimes supposes. Again, philosophy of science is not wholly committed to the deductive method; according to a large majority of philosophers all philosophical principles are but inductive generalisations, philosophy of science has but to examine the findings of science and to read out of the data (which are but scientific theories) some hypotheses which may systematise and explain them. Thus it is wrong to suppose that philosophy of science assumes certain *a priori* principles and forces them on science; in fact, it follows science as the latter follows nature.

Thus the claims of philosophy of science to be a special branch of constructive philosophy are justified and its recent popularity is based not on the human weakness for anything novel but on firmer and creditable grounds of reason and love of truth.

3. We have justified the existence and continuance of philosophy of science in its double capacity, *viz.*, as a critical study of scientific method and as a constructive philosophy based on the findings of science. We will now cite a few opinions of eminent thinkers of our day both in science and philosophy who have emphasised the importance of this branch of philosophy. As a critical study of scientific method it is a movement within science itself.[1] "The further physical science progresses the less it can dispense with philosophical criticism," says the eminent physicist Erwin Schroedinger.[2] Herbert Dingle in his inaugural lecture (in 1947 as a Professor of History and Philosophy of Science; University College, London) contended that "The state of unself-conscious automatism in which science finds itself to-day is due to the lack throughout its history of a critical school, working within the scientific movement itself and performing the function

---

[1] See C. W. Morris' essay "Scientific Empiricism" in *Encyclopedia and Unified Science.* (1938) p .70.

[2] In *Science and Human Temperament.* (1935) p. 43.

which criticism has performed for literature from the earliest times.[1] He maintains that such a criticism is valuable in two ways : " it can direct the movement itself so that blind alleys are avoided and the path of progress illumined, and it can make science self-conscious and aware of the significance of what it is doing in relation to other human activities." [2] Reflection on science is necessary for science itself, so that philosophy of science and science are closely inter-related. " The two things are so closely related that natural science cannot go on for long without philosophy beginning; philosophy reacts on the science out of which it has grown by giving it in future a new firmness and consistency arising out of the scientist's new consciousness of the principles on which he has been working." [3] So writes R. G. Collingwood who opines that a scientist of to-day who does not reflect upon his discipline "has not achieved a grown-up man's attitude" and he is a "Second-hand, imitative ; journeymen scientist." [4]

Philosophy of science as constructive metaphysics raised on the basis of science has been upheld by many a philosopher though the scientists themselves are rather aceptical about it. The arguments of A. C. Benjamin have already been mentioned in this essay. H. N. Lee [5] has put forth similar arguments in favour of inductive metaphysics whose principles should be treated as hypotheses explaining the scientific generalisations. Similar are the views of Friend and Fiebleman,[6] W. R. Thomson,[7] E. A. Burtt [8] and many others.

4. Thus philosophy of science is a legitimate, nay, very important, study. Yet there is a certain prejudice in the minds of 'pure' philosophers and also of intelligent laymen against this discipline. The reason for this is to be found in the attempts on the part of some popularisers to over-simplify the results of science and to draw hasty philosophical conclusions from them. Eddington and Jeans, though they were very eminent as scientists, have been guilty of such popularization and misrepresentation of science and they have been subjected to ruthless criticism by some pure philosophers, *e.g.*, Joad [9] and

---

[1] See his *The Missing factor in Science.* (1947) p. 18.

[2] See *Ibid. loc. cit.*

[3] R. G. Collingwood : *Idea of Nature.* (1945) p. 2.

[4] *Ibid. loc. cit.*

[5] See his essay, "Metaphysics as a hypothesis" in *Journal of Philosophy,* Vol. XLIV. No. 13.

[6] See their *What Science really means.* (1937) Chap. VI.

[7] See his *Science and Common Sense.* (1937) p. 190.

[8] See his *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science* (1925) p. 305.

[9] See his *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science.* (1934).

Stebbing.[1] About these popularisers Herbert Dingle writes, 'In this subject (Relativity and Quantum theory) more than any other, the cry for interpretation has met with a response from men peculiarly gifted in exposition, and rough places have been made so plain that it is scarcely possible to tread them without slipping.".[2] "The requirements in this peculiar field before us now are a considerable knowledge of physics and philosophy and extreme simplicity and breadth of mind.[3] The prestige of philosophy of science will increase with the increasing number of thinkers fulfilling the above requirements. At present the body of such thinkers is small. But it is growing steadily and very significant works[4] have appeared in this field of human enquiry. Certainly, philosophy of science has a very bright future.

---

[1] See her *Philosophy and the Physicists.* (1937).

[2] See his *Through Science to Philosophy.* (1937) p. 7.

[3] See *Ibid.* p. 13.

[4] e. g. works by Einstein, Max Planck, Schrocedinger, Philip Frank, P. W. Bridgemen, V. F. Lenzen and Herbert Dingle.

THE DOLLAR PROBLEM

Sarathinath Set, M.A.

The world economy to-day as never before has been passing through serious strain for many reasons. Very recently the General Report of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation has discussed the trends of the world economy to-day briefly as follows :

" The normal pattern of trade between the participating countries and Germany and the American continent was a substantial deficit against the former on trading account, this deficit was $1,450 million in 1938. This adverse trade balance was offset by the participating countries' earnings on invisible account, by the sale of colonial produce to the United States, and by earning of dollars from sales to the rest of the world. This was the customary process of multilateral trade. All these factors have been distorted by the war. The foreign investment income is gone, there is a big dollar bill for shipping services, tourist income has not yet recovered. At the same time, the loss of other sources of supply has forced Europe to turn to the American continent for essential supplies on a much greater scale than before, and prices have increased heavily, the dislocation of industry by the war has tended to damage particularly industries and agriculture which contributed most to Europe's dollar income. The destruction in the Japanese war has turned the net income of sales of rubber, tin and other dollar-earning colonial products into expenditure. Finally, the shortage of dollars generally has made it hardly possible for Europe to earn dollars by sales to the rest of the world. The size of the deficit results from the cumulative effect of all these forces (p. 29). The problem invariably affects the world economy as a whole and specially it affects adversely, the pattern of international trade yet to be developed by the great powers cooperating together in the larger context of the present situation. The question of international balance of payments is very likely to be the main target for immediate tackling by experts. The economists of all shades of opinion are naturally increased in the fundamental question of devaluation that may go a long way to cure the existing ills of the world economy from long and short view points. It is to be remembered that devaluation of the pound sterling by itself cannot revive the normal trade in full swing of the prewar era. Generally it is believed that all countries big or small alike have to pursue common programme of reconstruction and development affecting the vast millions over the less developed regions of the

Eurasia. According to the survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe, "to restore equilibrium in Europe's balance of payments with overseas will require a large expansion of exports or a large contraction of imports or some combination of both methods. In relation to the 1938 volume of overseas trade the gap to be filled is in the order of $2,000 m. and would require a 56 per cent. increase in Europe's exports or a 36 per cent. contraction in its imports. In relation to the 1947 levels of trade (expressed in 1938 prices) the gap is about $3,300 million and would involve a 114 per cent. increase in exports or a 53 per cent. contraction in imports". The problem is and has been immense for the peculiar nature of the dollar question involved. It is one of the main Issues facing us all how to develop or how to adjust the short-run and the long-run policy of trade with no disturbances to the position of equilibrium very seriously so as to dislocate the world economy as a whole. The British Commonwealth and European Economic Cooperation are supposed to move in line with the changing pattern of trade resulting from the devaluation of the 24 currencies in relation to the dollar. The problem of devaluation is necessarily one of adjusting depreciated currencies with the dollar. Everybody knows that the prewar pattern of trade and payments so far as the U.K., Europe and the U.S.A. were concerned, involved on the one side import surpluses by the United Kingdom with all but two (Greece and Turkey) European countries which were in part offset by invisible receipts, while on the other side Germany had export surpluses to most European countries which they were able to upset against their sterling earnings. Any realistic picture of a new equilibrium of European payments must allow for the reduced import surpluses with European countries that the United Kingdom can sustain while her export balances elsewhere are at a lower level than prewar.

What about the dollar gap persisting and that may continue to remain so far a few years more? It may be examined in the light of what Dr. C. P. Kindleberger says :

"At basis the explanation for the chronic world shortage of dollars is to be found in the technical superiority of the United States in the production of many goods necessary to a high modern standard of living and to the natural desire in other countries to raise real incomes faster than the basic conditions of their economic productivity justify. The United States has large and fairly balanced natural resources, relatively modern and efficient capital equipment but a large domestic market for the output of its own mass-production industries. The

United States can produce a variety of producers' and consumers' goods with a price and quality advantage so great as to be almost absolute. The advantages of other countries over the United States in the production of other industrial goods are relatively narrow. Under these conditions the law of comparative advantage can establish equilibrium in international trade only with great difficulty, especially since technological advance is being made in the United States and abroad at a rapid pace (pp. 379-80. "International Monetary Stabilization in Post-War Economic Problems" Edited by S. E. Harris, New York 1943.)

Today the extent of the current dollar shortage is reflected in the surpluses on current account of the United States balance of payments vis-a-vis the rest of the world in recent years. From $1,280 million in 1938 the surplus rose to $8,136 million in 1946 and $11,276 million in 1947. In 1948 the surplus was reduced to $6,335 million, indicating a reduction in the dollar deficit of the rest of the world. (Nineteenth Annual Report of the B. I. S., 1949, p. 96.) To pay for these large deficits with the United States the foreign countries had to use a considerable portion of their none too ample resources of gold and dollars. Their holdings of gold and short-term dollar assets which had stood at $23.0 billion in 1945 declined to $21.7 billion in 1946 and further to $17.8 billion in 1947 (Federal Reserve Bulletin, Sept. 1948, p. 1085). It is clear that the monetary reserves of the rest of the world were much too inadequate to finance a sustained balance of payments deficit with the United States of such dimensions.

(Annual Report of the Executive Directors, International Monetary Fund, June 30, 1947, p. 14). It may also be pointed out here that the dollar deficit of the sterling area has been assuming a formidable size for a fairly long time. The Economic Commission for Europe in a recent issue of the Economic Bulletin has analysed the causes as follows :—

The major part of the sterling area's deterioration in its current account balance with the United States and Canada was owing to dollar imports, not by Britain, but by other members of the sterling area—namely India, Pakistan, Malaya and South Africa. It stated that between 1938 and 1948, the deficit on the merchandise account of the United Kingdom rose by only $77,000,000 while the adverse balance of the rest of the area increased by $378,000,000.

A 70 per cent. increase in sterling area exports to the United States and Canada from 1938 to 1948 was considerably outweighed by the rise in its volume of dollar imports. The Bulletin said that this was not true of Britain, which cut its purchases from the United States in 1948 to 60 per cent. of the 1938 volume and of Australia, Iceland and New Zealand, which also cut dollar imports. But South Africa, India, Pakistan increased theirs from three to four and a half times the 1938 level, at the same time increasing their imports from Britain.

India and Pakistan alone increased imports from the United States from $33,000,000 in 1938 to $314,000,000 in 1948 and their imports from Britain rose from $160,000,000 to $447,000,000 in the same period. There were also high rates of increase in Malaya, Ceylon, Burma and other overseas sterling countries. The report says, "If a part from the extraordinary drain on imports by India and Pakistan imports from North America into the overseas sterling countries had remained at the 1938 volume these countries would have had a total dollar surplus of 1948, instead of deficit of more than $400,000,000 in trade with the United States and Canada.

The large increase in imports of American manufactures did not represent a substitution of American for British goods but was part of a general increase in imports, possibly because the United Kingdom surplus on the current account with the rest of the sterling area, about $100,000,000 consisted largely of unrequired exports, financed by reductions in the sterling balances held by other members of the area and by other capital transfers.

A large proportion of the sterling area's imports from Britain, said the Bulletin, had consisted of capital equipment and other industrial goods necessary for economic development. "As it is, the United Kingdom has attempted to carry the double burden of a major balance-of-payments readjustments necessitated by the war, alongside the financing of greatly expanded imports into the less-developed regions of the sterling area".

It was recommended that the underdeveloped members of the area should turn to international agencies for economic development.

Britain and the other members of the sterling area were advised to seek their major markets in Canada and non-dollar countries rather than in the United States. It said that only about $850,000,000 of the sterling area's total dollar deficit of $2,400,000,000 is with the United States. Another $680,000,000 is with Canada, and the rest, approximately $870,000,000 is with the other dollar and non-dollar countries. As a result of devaluation, it was added, opportunities for British exports to Canada should become much more favourable.

Finally, in order to reap the benefits of devaluation the survey considered that Britain would have to "impose more rigid limits on the level of unrequited exports". The warning was added, that, unless such controls were introduced, the increased demand from the sterling area, in addition to that from other sources following devaluation, might merely tend to drive up the prices of British goods and limit the increase of dollar-earning or dollar-saving exports.

It is highly important that for a proper solution of the dollar problem, it is not simply the countries with chronic deficits that need adjustments, but also countries like the U.S.A. which are enjoying a persistent surplus. It is well-known that the American demand for the bulk of the exports of the rest of the world is quite inelastic and a reduction in the dollar value of foreign countries or a lowering of American tariffs may not lead to an appreciable increase in American imports. In the circumstances almost the entire burden of adjustment to restore equilibrium may have to be borne by the countries which are experiencing a dollar shortage. But the problem of dollar scarcity is in many respects an American problem (The Economist, July 3, 1948 and June 26, 1948). The present dollar scarcity may be attacked from the short and long aspects of international trade-setting. It may be stated that capital exports from the United States every year, not only on Government account but on private account, may have to be increased in amounts. In 1947 to close the dollar gap of $11,278 million $6,891 million were available from the United States Government in the shape of loans and investments, while the rest outflow of private long-term capital was $744 million. The figures for 1948 were $687 million and $761 million respectively. During these two years the net outflow of private American capital was only 15% of the total outward movement of funds. (Nineteenth Annual Report of the B. I. S., 1949, p. 9). It may interest us to know a recent estimate of the American-owned assets in foreign countries. Below is given a table :—

Estimate of American-owned Assets in Foreign Countries

Type of Asset	End of 1939,	1945 and	1947
	(In millions of dollars)		
Private Investments Long term			
Direct Investments	6,750	7,600	9,400
Other	6,100	7,200	5,700
Total, long-term..	12,850	14,800	15,100
Short-term	1,050	900	1,600
Total private investments.. ..	13,900	15,700	16,700

U. S. Govt. assets			
Long-term	40	1,600	11,700
Short-term			400
Total U. S. Govt. assets	40	1,600	12,100
Total American-owned Assets ..	13,940	17,300	28,800

Note : The 1939 and 1945 data were taken from Treasury Department Census of American-Owned Assets in Foreign Countries, 1947, p. 9. The 1947 data are from Deptt. of commerce press releases OBE —142 August 26, 1948, United States investments abroad.

In the table it is shown that Government loans and credits to foreign countries rose from a negligible figure in 1939 to more than $1,600 million at the end of 1945 and then, as post-war lending really expanded, rose again in two years to $12,100 million at the end of 1947. The latter total included about $3,400 million subscribed to the Bretton Woods Organisations. At the same time, total private investments increased from $13,900 million at the end of 1939 to $16,700 million at the end of 1947. Most of the increase was in private investments in Latin America and the Near East. The increase in government-owned foreign assets exclusive of the subscriptions to the Fund and the Bank has been mostly in Europe, particularly as a result of the loans to the United Kingdom and France. It is to be understood that the economic and political conditions in the world still continue to be adjusted with sufficient capital exports from the U.S.A. who alone holds the key to modern economic malaise looming large on the horizon. It is also expected and necessary that the nations in need of assistance must sit up intelligently and intellectually at a high level. For instance, the present situation as it is, it is highly desirable that the fullest use is made on the basis of cooperative efforts of Europe's resources which require for their economic development initially large capital outlays and which would produce outputs too large for use in the country in which they are located ; what is also required is that production should be located wherever comparative advantage is greatest. This may be started in the following way :—

(*a*) A Development Fund subscribed by participating countries and available for approved transfers of resources resulting from tariff reductions.

(*b*) Encouragement of particular developments by the negotiation between two or more countries of preferential treatment for the products of the industries concerned.

(c) Question of improving the speed and eliminating avoidable costs in the movement of raw materials and the distribution of goods within Europe. There is a compelling case for developing an interconnected network of navigable waterways and roads on an international rather than a national basis. (p. 324—Economic Journal, Sept., 1949—The British Commonwealth and European Economic Cooperation by D. J. Morgan).

Further, in supplement to the efforts of the European countries the U. S. A. must wake up to the pressing demands of the Asian countries as well. It is a patent fact that the Asian nations still continue to be neglected in the matter of reconstruction and development. The European Recovery Programme launched by the American government has already had a profound effect on the recipient countries and a Marshall Aid Plan for Asian countries is the crying need of the hour. The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development must come forward in greater efforts to finance the development plans of the less developed regions which are not in a position to start the programme of reconstruction in the present context. It is highly desirable that the Point Four of President Truman's Inaugural Address delivered on 20th January, 1949 dealing with the improvement and the growth of underdeveloped areas is taken up immediately in practice. It may also be required to-day that the U. S. A's emerging as the world's greatest creditor industrial and exporting power, should be in keeping with the status she carries. For instance, the U. S. A. should be a willing lender as well as a ready importer in line with the development of the large-scale trade on world-scale. The most dominant question of the hour, however, still remains unsolved unless and until the U. S. A. immediately checks up the price trend of her own country as a stimulus to further foreign trade. Recently, Paul Einzig, in a despatch "Sterling Area and U. S. Price Trend", Indian Finance, Dec. 3, 1949, observes :—

During October, the first complete month since the devaluation the sterling value of British exports to the United States showed a noteworthy increase. On the other hand, their dollar value—which, after all, is what really matters from the all-important point of view of the dollar gap—showed a decline.

It is indeed most disheartening that, now that the British Govt. and British exports are at last bracing themselves to a really supreme effort to increase sales to the Dollar Area, there are indications that a very large proportion of the fruits of this effort will vanish into thin air as a result of a fall in American prices. Such a fall tends to frustrate the British efforts to bridge the dollar gap, not only through a reduction of the dollar proceeds of the goods they are able to sell in the United States, but also through a reduction of the quantities they are able to sell in the United States.

A fall in American prices would utterly defeat the aim of the devaluation of sterling. It would also rule out future solution in the same direction, for it stands to reason that a second devaluation would only be followed by another decline in dollar prices. The problem of the dollar gap would remain and it would either lead to a really drastic curtailment of purchases of American goods or the American taxpayer would have to continue to finance the abnormally large export surplus. The remedy lies in what would be considered as the most effective in arresting and reversing the decline of American gold, preferably in conjunction with an all-round increase by all countries represented on the International Monetary Fund. The unpopularity of such a measure in the United States is widely realized over London. Nevertheless it is hoped that confronted with a deflationary depression as the alternative, American opinion might change.

WHO WAS THE AGGRESSOR?

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

Professor, Asutosh College, & Lecturer, Calcutta University

On the 9th February, 1757, Nawab Siraj-ud-daula put his signature on a solemn treaty with the East India Company with the following preamble : "God and his prophets are witnesses that I never will deviate from the terms of the treaty I have now made with the English Company, and I will on all occasions show them my favour, relying on your faith to observe inviolably your part of the treaty."[1] On the 30th July following, Clive wrote to "Alamgir Sani, King of Hindusthan," that the Nawab " a few days after broke his oath and joined with the enemies of the English to destroy them", and so he "marched his forces towards Muxadabad to demand the fulfilling of the treaty." [2]

It is the purpose of this short article to show who first broke the oath and took the aggressive in the events leading to the fateful battle of Plassey.

The treaty of Alinagar, as the agreement between the Nawab and the English was called, was signed on the 9th February, 1757, and it is not without significance that on that very day Clive wrote to Omichand, his favourite errand-boy in the negotiations which were being carried on with Mir Jafar Khan and other secret enemies of the Nawab, in the following terms, "I desire greatly to see you, and have many things to impart to you. If you can come to me for a short time you may do it with safety. No harm shall happen to you and you shall be at liberty to return whenever you please in security." [3]

Hardly was the ink of the treaty dry than the English began to think of violating its terms as would be evident from the letter of Clive and Kilpatrick to the Select Committee, dated the 12th February, 1757, urging on the Committee to force better terms from the Nawab and the appointment of an agent and representative of the E. I. Company in the Court of the Nawab, who "might be of great use in many matters both public and private which cannot be so properly done in writing". Further, it is evident from the instructions which the Select Committee on the 16th February, 1757, forwarded to Mr. Watts who was sent as envoy to the Court of the Nawab that the English wanted much more than what was contained in the treaty and they accordingly must share the responsibility of violating the treaty in spirit, if not in letters, from the very beginning.[1] As Hill points out in the Bengal Records, Mr. Watts had not merely to obtain the fulfilment of the treaty, but also to contrive the Nawab's acceptance of several articles which, if they had been touched on at all, were not included in the actual treaty.[2] The selection of Mr. Watts as the English envoy in the Court of the Nawab was not without significance. He was made a prisoner by the Nawab after the English surrendered to him the factory at Cossimbazar and as such he exploited to the full the opportunities which he obtained in the Murshidabad Court to plan the ruin of the Nawab in the most unscrupulous manner. He it was who goaded Clive and Watson to attack the French in Chandannagar, though by the treaty of Alinagar the English had solemnly bound themselves "to live in good understanding with the Nawab" so as to maintain peace and friendship.

---

[1] Hill : The Indian Records Series, Bengal, Vol. II, p. 215.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 462.

[3] Hill : The Indian Records Series, Bengal, Vol. II, p. 219.

Much has been made of the two private letters, which the Nawab had written to Watson and Clive, containing the words, "As long as I have life I shall esteem your enemies as enemies to me".[3] But it should be recognised that the Nawab from the very beginning refused to be a party to any proposal of the English to exterminate the French power in Bengal.[4] It is also remarkable that immediately after the Nawab had any knowledge of the hostile designs of the English on the French in Bengal, he protested to both Clive and Watson on the 19th February, *i.e.*, only ten days after the treaty of Alinagar was signed in a letter which deserves quotation. "To put an end to the hostilities in my country and dominions I consented and agreed to the Treaty of Peace with the English, that trade and commerce might be carried on as formerly to which treaty you have agreed, and a firm accommodation between us is settled and established. You have likewise sent me an agreement under your own hand and seal not to disturb the tranquillity of my country, but it now appears that you have a design to beseige the French Factory near Hooghly and to commence hostilities against that nation. This is contrary to all rule and custom that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country."[5]

The presence of English ships of war in the river and the arrival of new ones when the English were supposed to be in peace were naturally taken exception to by the Nawab who in letters to Clive and Watson dated the 19th and 20th February made his position absolutely clear saying, "If you are sincere in the treaty concluded with me, send your ships of war out of the river, and abide steadfastly by your agreement. I will not fail in the observance of the treaty on my part. Is it becoming or honest to begin a war after concluding the peace so lately and solemnly? The Mahrattas are bound by no gospel, yet they are strict observers of treaties. It will, therefore, be a matter of great astonishment, and hard to be believed, if you who are enlightened with the Gospel, should not remain firm, and preserve the treaty you have ratified in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ." [1]

---

[1] Hill—The Indian Records Series, Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 222-23.
[2] *Ibid.*,—Vol. I, p. CLX.
[3] Hill—Vol. II, p. 220 and p. 230.
[4] *Ibid.*,—Vol. I, p. CXLIX.
[5] *Ibid.*,—Vol. II, p. 230.

Watson's reply to the above letter was evasive and made no direct answer to the charges made by the Nawab in his letter of the 20th February.

Events were proceeding quickly. Siraj-ud-daula was naturally anxious to check the reported advance of the Delhi army to his territories and asked for the assistance of British forces in exchange for a lakh of rupees for each day of their service. This gave Watson his opportunity for harassing the Nawab with demands which it was difficult for him to comply with within the time dictated by the English. In a letter to the Nawab he arrogantly declared, "If you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace, and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint; otherwise, remember you must answer for the consequences. In a few days more I shall despatch a vessel for more ships and more troops, and that will kindle such a flame in your country as all the water of the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish." [2]

In writing in these terms to Siraj and in giving him only ten days for the fulfilment of the treaty Watson was behaving in a high-handed and provoking manner. There was no time limit for working out the stipulations made in the treaty of Alinagar. And to ask the Nawab within a few weeks of the signing of the treaty to fulfil his obligations within ten days was merely a pretext to embarrass the Nawab when he was faced with danger from different quarters. Siraj in courteous and dignified language explained the causes of the delay in the execution of the treaty during the Hooly festival and reminded the British of the ancient custom by which the Europeans had bound themselves not to commit hostilities within the Ganges or in the provinces of which he was the Subadar.

---

[1] Hill—Vol II. p. 230-231.

[2] Ive's—"Voyages", p. 124.

In reply to Siraj-ud-daula's sincere request for the help of the English troops Watson in a sarcastic manner declared that before any help could be given to the Nawab, Chandannagar had to be occupied by the English who would thus secure themselves from any apprehensions from that quarter and would then assist the Nawab with every man in their power and go with him even to Delhi, if he so desired.[1]

Watson, in fact, was determined on capturing Chandannagar and refused to sign any agreement with the French deputies who had been specially commissioned to negotiate a treaty of mutuality with the English in Bengal, and he was equally anxious to precipitate hostilities with the Nawab as would be evident from his letter to the Select Committee dated the 3rd March, 1757.[2]

Meanwhile, Mr. Watts was successful in his attempt to corrupt the officers of the Nawab's Darbar, and by a handsome present of money to his first Secretary he produced a letter from the Nawab to Watson on the 10th March, which might be interpreted to signify the Nawab's consent to the English attack on the French in Chandannagar.[3] The English lost no time in making an attack on Chandannagar which Clive justified by the statement that while he would assist the Nawab against the Delhi army with pleasure, it would be dangerous to leave such enemies as the French in the rear; and it would be better to dispose of them first and that he would wait at Chandannagar for instructions. The capture of Chandannagar which followed was of immense importance to the British. It broke the power of the French in Bengal and left the way clear for the final settlement with the Nawab.[4]

It will be apparent from the above that the terms of the treaty of Alinagar were not broken by Siraj, but by the English who by attacking Chandannagar and leading their forces through the Nawab's territories had ravaged his territories and had committed a breach of laws observed by nations all over the world.

The success of the English made them more audacious and a demand was made by Clive on Siraj-ud-daulla on the 28th March calling upon the Nawab to deliver up to the English the persons and effects of the French at Cossimbazar and their other out-settlements.[5] The English were in fact making fresh demands on the Nawab knowing full well that it would not be possible for him to comply with them. Their only object was to have fresh pretexts of quarrelling with the Nawab. That the Nawab had faithfully executed his part of the treaty of Alinagar is admitted even by Clive who in his letter to the Select Committee, dated the 30th March, says, "He has fulfilled most of the Articles of the treaty made with us . . . and I make little doubt that all his engagements will be duly executed."[1]

---

[1] Ive's "Voyages",. p. 175.
[2] Hill Vol, II, pp. 268 70.
[3] Scrafton—"Reflections", pp. 74-75.
[4] Hill Vol. I, p. CLXXIV.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 304.

But the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty by the Nawab was not to the interest of the British. Mr. Watts at Cossimbazar was determined on picking up new grounds for affront. The machinations and methods adopted by him to extort fresh concessions from the Nawab on the plea of French affairs caused resentment even of Admiral Watson. But says Mr. Hill, "Those were the days in which even the most honourable men were convinced of the necessity of trickery and chicanery in politics and were therefore accustomed to give their tacit consent to actions which they would not commit themselves."[2]

Siraj-ud-daula, true to his sense of honour, refused to deliver the French factories to the English without the consent of the French in spite of importunate requests of Clive as contained in his letter to the Nawab dated the 8th March.[3]

Unable to make the Nawab agree to dishonourable methods, Clive on the 10th March accused the Nawab of his failure to execute some of the provisions of the treaty of Alinagar. However, for the satisfaction of the parties of the treaty Siraj ordered Mr. Law and other French men at Cossimbazar to leave Murshidabad. His intention will be clear from the letter he wrote to Nanda Kumar, the Fauzdar of Hugli, on the 23rd April, in which he explained that "it is not the custom of the head of the kingdom of Hindustan to bind and deliver up the weak, because by so doing I shall have a bad name through the whole world. Nevertheless, I have turned Mr. Law away from hence, and wrote expressly wherever I may have any authority that they should not suffer them to abide there, but send them to the other side of the river Carmnasar" (i.e., the boundary westward of the Nawab's dominions).[4]

The tragedy of the situation was that while Clive and the English were cajoling the Nawab with all sorts of sweet words, he and his agents considered that they could not gain their ends so long as

[1] Hill, Vol. II, p. 308.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. CLXXVI.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 318-19.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 355.

Siraj-ud-daula was on the throne and were actually negotiating with Mir Jafar Khan and other powerful potentates to bring about his ruin. On the 24th April Clive wrote to the Nawab, "I can solemnly swear that I bear the best intentions towards you and your Government. . . What passed before the Treaty of Peace is entirely forgot on our part, as if it had never happened and I persuade myself from Your Excellency's good sense and justice that it is the same with you".[1] Again on the 2nd May Clive wrote to Siraj, "I desire nothing so much as to live in peace and friendship with you and to make your kingdom flourish", etc.[2] While Siraj-ud-daula was thus sought to be "lulled into perfect security", to quote the words of Macaulay, Clive at the same time sent a letter through the same carrier to Mr. Watts in the following terms, "Tell Mir Jafar to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left". In the same letter Clive was shameless enough to confess, "I have wrote to the Nawab a soothing letter"; but he in that very letter urged on Mr. Watts " to enter upon business with Mir Jafar as soon as you please".[3]

We need not enter into the sordid arrangements that were made with Mir Jafar which really "turned the Subadar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa into a mediatised Indian ruler".[4] With the starting of negotiations with the traitors we find a definite change in the tone of Clive's letters to the Nawab. On the 14th May Clive intimidated the Nawab with hostile action in certain circumstances.[5] On the 5th June negotiations with Mir Jafar were completed when he gave his signature to the document which was conveyed to him by Mr. Watts who went to Mir Jafar's place in a closed *dooly*, lest he should be detected by the Nawab's officers. All arrangements being completed, Watts and his companions fled from Murshidabad on the 12th June and on the very next day Clive wrote to the Nawab charging him with his failure to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Alinagar and threatening him that he would proceed immediately with his army to Cossimbazar and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Mir Jafar, Rai Durllabh, Jagat Seth and others.[6] Clive would not even wait for an answer to his letter but started immediately. On the 15th June the Nawab wrote to Clive informing him of the flight of Mr. Watts "with the deceitful design and intention to break the treaty". "I thank God", he declared, "that the treaty has not been broken on my part, as it was so solemnly sworn to before God and his Prophet. He will doubtless punish him who has first violated it."[1] But what was God's judgment? That is now a matter of history.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 356.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 372-73.

[4] Sarkar—History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 486.

[5] Hill, Vol. II, p. 380.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[Read at the Indian History Congress, Cuttack, 1949.]

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS AT PATNA

DR. A. C. DAS

Calcutta University.

The Indian Philosophical Congress held its last session at Patna during Christmas week. I was privileged to attend the session, and I seek to convey an impression of the Congress through this short article.

I got down from the train at Patna junction on the morning of the 25th ultimo. As I was conducted through the station to the car waiting for me I began to feel that Patna was extremely cold. Then when I was driven along the streets I found that Patna was a quiet city. I was put up in the Delegates' camp at Faraday House which is a college hostel situated in nice surroundings. This was far quieter than the other parts of the city I passed through in the morning. Coming as I did from Calcutta, a city of din and bustle, the silence of the place was soothing to my nerves. I settled down there. And, as the session of the Congress was to commence on the day following, in the afternoon I walked round the place and was delighted to find that it was not only calm and quiet, but also beautiful. The whole University area with clean broad metalled roads, spacious buildings, in-between open spaces, green trees, bright flower beds and the holy Ganges running by in front made a sight worth seeing. The welcome cold of the winter, the charming scenery, the rich dishes we had *cum* the care and attention the volunteers bestowed upon us all made our stay there, brief as it was, highly enjoyable.

When we met in the Congress my first impression was that after all we were Indians. Philosophers and students of philosophy from all over the country assembled together there. Each provincial group indeed had its native tongue, and different persons were differently dressed. But all this difference was superficial and could not hide the unity of us as Indians.

I, however, marked one special fact. It was that we could not yet dispense with English. In the Congress the medium employed was English. That we could meet and discuss together high themes and come into personal contact with one another was obviously made possible by the English language as our *lingua franca*. And I wondered how long it will take to replace English by an Indian tongue.

If at all possible, I think it will take, not a decade or a quarter of a century, but more than a century. That in high all-India cultural conferences we cannot do without English is itself a strong argument in support of English to be retained as India's common language. Some time ago in some issue of the "Statesman" I tried to make out that English is an Indian language. This is somewhat a paradox and is explained by the fact that Anglo-Indians are an important Indian community and that their mother tongue is English. But the point is not much appreciated. If we are all Indians irrespective of caste, creed, religion and community, I cannot see how English can be at all alien to us. English is already well established in the country and has proved eminently useful, nay, indispensable to us. For my part I feel that it is no good disturbing the *status quo* in so far as the *lingua franca* is concerned. The difficulty is that we often speak of a national language, but mean the language of the majority as the common medium. We then do not mean what we say. We often talk big, but in practice we remain rather inclined to narrow policies.

Now as to the Congress itself. It had a three-day session. There were general and sectional meetings. Very many important and interesting papers were read and discussions on high philosophical problems were held. As I sat through the sittings morning and evening I got the sense of a unity far deeper than the national unity. I felt that we were there out to determine the truth of things. This is the special privilege enjoyed by us as rational beings. And I was really inspired by the idea that we were all comrades in a common pursuit—the quest of reality.

Some think that philosophy is idle talk and has no use for anybody. That is perhaps why the Press and the public take little notice of the Philosophical Congress and the discourses held there. As we find, in our country the emphasis is being increasingly laid upon science. Consequently, the Science Congress is much publicized, the idea being that only science can work out our salvation. There is no doubt that this is an age of science and in order that we keep pace with all the other nations we urgently need technological experts to guide our industrial development. And for that we look to science. But there is a thing like culture. Culture, in short, relates to the inner aspect of a nation. So if science ministers to the body of a nation, philosophy which is concerned with the ultimate nature of everything ministers to a nation's inner being. If we are not mere body, but

CAUSERIE ON LETTERS

Professor M. M. Desai, M.A.
Benaras Hindu University

(3)

If great letters as indicated already are the results of an intensely felt emotion, idea or experience it stands to reason that they must have been written under the influence of the three great visions of life—the vision of love, the vision of patriotism, the vision of religion. We have dwelt upon the epistolery expressions evoked by the vision of love. Let us turn now to the letters provoked by the vision of patriotism, composed sometimes under the stresses of political martyrdom or martyrdom to an idea, a creed, a concatenation of circumstances. Letters written by persons on the eve of their death, living under the shadow of a sentence of execution shortly expected to be carried out have often been revelation of their naked souls and have served as beacon lights to succeeding generations. John Brown, the fanatical agitator for abolition of slavery in America, in his farewell letter to his family written the night before his execution stated, "I am waiting the hour of my public murder with great composure of the mind." It is a letter that reveals the man and evokes respect even from his opponents who disagreed with his impetuous and impatient ways of realising his aims. When at twenty-eight Dostoevsky along with a group of comrades was arrested and tried as a conspirator and sentenced to death, only a few moments before the hour set for execution he learned that the death sentence was commuted to transportation. Those few seconds in which Dostoevsky hung between life and death left their profound marks and those are vividly represented in an extraordinary letter written to his brother a day later. It is a poignant but brave letter breathing every line of it love of the family and fatherland, love of writing and love of life in art and it illustrates those famous lines of Lovelace

> "Stones walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage."

Dostoevsky's letter is too long to be quoted.

The infamous political frame-up of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case is one of the dark spots of modern American history. Two obscure immigrants, one a fish peddler and the other a shoemaker became symbols of sacrifice to blind or blundering justice which roused world-wide interest. The famous American left-wing novelist Upton Sinclair devoted a novel to it. His "Boston" is a spirited and carefully documented record of the incidents and history of this case which led to two judicial murders. The complete record of the case is published in six large volumes and completely proves the innocence of the two executed men. Vanzettis' letter to the son of his fellow martyr Sacco on the eve of his execution is written by this illiterate Italian idealist in stumbling but beautiful sentences :

"August 21, From the
Death House of Massachusetts,
State Prison.

My Dear Dante,

I still hope, and we will fight until the last moment, to revindicate our right to live and to be free, but all the forces of the State and of the money and reaction are deadly against us because we are libertarians or anarchists.

I write little of this because you are now and yet too young to understand these things and other things of which I would like to reason with you.

But, if you do well, you will grow and understand your father's and my case and your father's and my principles, for which we will soon be put to death.

I tell you now all I know of your father; he is not a criminal, but one of the bravest men I ever knew. Some day you will understand what I am about to tell you. That your father has sacrificed every thing dear and sacred to the human heart and soul for his fate (faith) in liberty and justice for all. That day you will be proud of your father, and if you come brave enough, you will take his place in the struggle between tyranny and liberty and you will vindicate his (our) names and our blood.

If we have to die now, you shall know, when you will be able to understand this tragedy in its fullest, how good and brave your father has been with you, your father and I during these eight years of struggle, sorrow, passion, anguish and agony. (For seven years these two men languished in jail after arrest.)

Even from now you shall be good, brave with your mother, with Ines, and with Sufia—brave good Susie (She was Mrs. Socco's faithful friend)—and do all you can to console and help them.

I would like you to also remember me as a comrade and friend to your father, your mother and Ines, Susie and you, and I assure you that neither have I been a criminal, that I have committed no robbery and no murder, but only fought modestily to abolish crimes from among mankind and for the liberty of all.

Remember, Dante, each one who will say otherwise of your father and I, is a liar, insulting innocent dead men who have been brave in their life. Remember and know also, Dante, that if your father and I would have been cowards and hypocrite and rinnegetors of our faith, we would not have been put to death. They would not even have convicted a labbrous dog; not even executed a deadly poisoned scorpion on such evidence as that they framed against us. They would have given a new trial to a matricide and abitual felon on the evidence we presented for a new trial.

Remember, Dante, remember always these things, we are not criminals; they convicted us on a frame-up; they denied us a new trial; and if we will be executed after seven years, four months and seventeen days of unspeakable tortures and wrong, it is for what I have already told you; because we were for the poor and against the exploitation and oppression of the man by the man.

The documents of our case, which you and others will collect and preserve, will prove to you that your father, your mother, Ines, my family and I have sacrificed by and to a State Reason of the American Plutocratic reaction.

The day will come when you will understand the attrocious cause of the above written words in all its fulness. Then you will honour us.

Now, Dante, be brave and good always. I embrace you.

P. S. I left the copy of *An American Bible* to your mother now, for she will like to read it and she will give it to you when you will be bigger and able to understand it. Keep it for remembrance. It will also testify to you how good and generous Mrs. Gertrude Winslow has been with us. Good-bye, Dante.

Bartolomeo."

Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603 wrote a farewell letter to his wife a few hours before he expected to be executed. It is marked by Shakespearean eloquence. In this letter he reaffirmed the sentiments about death expressed by him in his "History of the World". "It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself." This man who stood in that age as the classic type of courtier, historian, explorer and foreign adventurer wrote this letter in a spirit full of Christian resignation and a fighter's dignity. In the letter he affirmed, "I am but dust" and told his wife "The great God that ruleth all in all; but if you live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourselfe upon Him, and therein you shall finde true and lasting riches, and endlesse comfort; for the rest when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall but sit downe by sorrowe in the end."

(4)

From these letters written by men under the shadow of death let us pass on to letters of condolence, written often in a characteristic way and throwing a flood of light upon the temper and character of their writers as much as the previous types of letters just referred to. There is Dickens' letter to his wife on the death of their infant daughter; there is Franklin's letter to a kinsman on the death of his brother; there is Abraham Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixley on the death of her son and there is Kaiser Wilhelm's letter of condolence to a bereaved mother on the death of her sons in the World War I. In 1939 appeared an edition of "Ten Thousand Letters of Charles Dickens" containing "the tears, the laughter, the daemonic drive of the man. The letters that he wrote to his wife informing her of the death of their little daughter is the most poignant of all his letters. Here is the letter.

"Devonshire-terrace
Tuesday morning, 15th, April 1851.

My Dearest Kate—Now observe, you must read this letter very slowly and carefully. If you have hurried on thus far without quite understanding (apprehending some bad news) I rely on your turning back and reading again.

Little Dora, without being in the least pain, is suddenly stricken ill. There is nothing in her appearance but perfect rest—you would suppose her quietly asleep, but I am sure she is very ill, and I cannot encourage myself with much hope of her recovery. I do not (and why should I say I do to you, my dear ?) I do not think her recovery at all likely.

I do not like to leave home, I can do no good here, but I think it right to stay. You will not like to be away, I know, and I cannot reconcile it to myself to keep you away. Forster, with the usual affection for us, come, down to bring you this letter and to bring you home, but I cannot close it without putting the strongest entreaty and injunction upon you to come with perfect composure—to remember what I have often told you, that we never can expect to be exempt, as to our many children, from the afflictions of other parents, and that if—if when you come I should even have to say to you, 'our little baby is dead' you are to do your duty to the rest, and to show yourself worthy of the great trust you hold in them.

If you will only read this steadily I have a perfect confidence in your doing what is right.

Ever affectionately,
Charles Dickens. "

Benjamin Franklin's letter to his kinsman on the death of his brother is an instance of a classic of compassion and reflects a mood not generally associated with the fame of Franklin. He writes in it, "A man is not completely born until he is dead. Why then should we grieve, that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their happy society ?......And why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him ?"

Let us turn now to a letter of one of the most compassionate of men, one of the most quoted letters in American history. In the vast storehouse of Lincoln literature one can find many precious nuggets to illustrate the many-sided grandeur of this greatest of the great Americans but none in which the essential humanness of the most humane of men is better illustrated than this well-known letter of his to Mrs. Bixby. It is a letter in which the nobility of self-sacrifice for a great cause and of the consolation which the thought of a sacrifice so made should bring, is set forth with such simple and pathetic beauty. It has a Biblical simplicy and sublimity of great thought clothed in straightforward words. Mrs. Bixby had lost five of her sons in the Civil War on the side of the Union.

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, Nov., 21, 1864.

To

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Mass.

Dear Madam,

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
A. Lincoln."

Let me put by its side another letter written by Kaiser Wilhelm to a mother whose nine sons had fallen on the battlefield in the World War I. He writes: "His Majesty the Kaiser hears that you have sacrificed nine sons in defence of the Fatherland in the present war. His Majesty is immensely gratified at the fact, and in recognition is pleased to send you his photograph with frame and autograph signature." The two letters in their styles and sentiments reveal the characters of the two writers. Comments are superfluous.

(5)

The vision of religion has given us some striking letters like those of the "God-intoxicated". Spinoza and his former pupil Albert Burgh to each other, Saint Paul to the Corinthians, the younger Pliny to Emperor Trajan, Voltaire to Boswell, and Huxley to Kingsley. Each of these is stirring and reveals the subtlety of the human intelligence and its efforts to prove the mystery of man's why, whence and and whither. Huxley wrote a letter to Kingsley on the occasion of his little son's death. Huxley examined the arguments for immortality in this soul-searching letter of his. It is a rare outburst at a moment of intense feeling in which intellectual clearness and moral fire are to be seen united in a passion for truth. The man who coined the term "agnostic" here defends a free man's first principles. The letter was written the year after the publication of that epoch-making book "The Origin of Species." The letter sets forth the grounds of Huxley's philosophy as to the ends of life and hopes of immortality and affords insight into the very depths of his nature. This courageous and clear utterance is a classic statement of the scientists' attitude towards free inquiry and unshackled search for truth. The scientific mind is not so much antagonistic to religion as is sometimes alleged. After all the man of science and the man of religion both are in quest of truth and truth is one. Huxley's letter is too long to be quoted.

(6)

Another class of letters can be described as letters of controversy, hatred, enmity, polemical retort etc. The famous letter of Dr. Johnson to Lord Chesterfield is a model of rebuke, a fine specimen of his style at its best and his stern independent character at its highest and the man who received his most stinging blows acknowledged it as "very well written" in private comments. Chesterfield showed himself a good sportsman in acknowledging and appreciating the effectiveness of Johnson's well-aimed verbal bullets.

From this personal well administered retort of a stern English man of letters we turn to a well administered rebuke by a vitrolic great French man of letters about a public scandal that stirred his sense of justice. Zola's open letter to the President of the French Republic "*Jaccuse*" is undoubtedly one of the most terrible denunciations in all history. The *cause cèlèbre* of the *Affaire Dreyfus* shook France at the end of the last century. Zola never met the man on whose behalf he wrote the letter nor did he know personally the men he accused. He risked everything for an abstract principle. The title for this letter was supplied by another stormy petrel of French politics, Georges Clemanceau.

"I'accuse".

January, 1898.

"Mr. President,

Permit me, I beg you, in return for the gracious favours you once accorded me, to be concerned with regard to your just glory and to tell you that your record so fair and fortunate thus far is now threatened with the most shameful, the most ineffaceable blot.

You escaped safe and sane from the basest calumnies, you conquered all hearts. You seem radiant in the glory of a patriotic celebration

....and are preparing to preside over the solemn triumph of our Universal Exposition, which is to crown our great century of work, truth and liberty. But what a clod of mud is flung upon your name—I was about to say your reign—through this abominable Dreyus affair. A court martial has but recently, by order, dared to acquit one, Esterhazy—a supreme slap at all truth, all justice!' And it is done; France has this brand upon her visage; history will relate that it was during your administration that such a social crime could be committed.

Since they have dared, I too shall dare. I shall tell the truth because I pledged myself to tell it if justice, regularly empowered, did not do so, fully, unmitigatedly. My duty is to speak; I have no wish to be an accomplice. My nights would be haunted by the spectre of the innocent being, expiating under the most frightful torture, a crime he never committed.

And it is to you, Mr. President, that I shall out this truth, with all the force of my revolt as an honest man. To your honour, I am convinced that you are ignorant of the crime. And to whom, then, shall I denounce the malignant rabble of true culprits, if not to you, the highest magistrate of the country?

I accuse Colonel du Paty de Clam of having been the diabolical agent of the judicial error, unconsciously, I perfer to believe, and of having continued to defend his deadly work during the past three years through the most absurd and revolting machinations.

I accuse General Mercier of having made himself an accomplice in one of the greatest crimes of history, probably through weak-mindedness.

I accuse General Billot of having had in his hands the decisive proofs of the innocence of Dreyfus and of having concealed them, and of having rendered himself guilty of the crime of lèse humanity and lèse justice, out of political motives and to save the face of the General Staff.

I accuse General Boisdeffre and General Gouse of being accomplices in the same crime, the former no doubt through religious prejudice, the latter, out of *esprit de corps*.

I accuse General Pellieux and Major Ravery of having made a scoundrelly inquest, I mean an inquest of the most monstrous partiality, the complete report of which composes for us an imperishable monument of naïve effrontery.

I accuse the three handwriting experts MM. Belhomme, Varinard, and Conard, of having made lying and fradulent reports, unless a medical examination will certify them to be deficient of sight and judgment.

I accuse the War office of having led a vile campaign in the press, particularly in *L'Eclair* and *L'Echo de Paris,* in order to misdirect public opinion and cover up its sins.

I accuse, lastly, the first court martial of having violated all human right in condemning a pensioner on testimony kept secret from him, and I accuse the second court martial of having covered up this illegality by order, committing in turn the judicial crime of acquitting a guilty man with full knowledge of his guilt.

In making these accusations I am aware that I render myself liable to articles 30 and 31 of Libel Law of July 29, 1881, which punish acts of defamation, I expose myself voluntarily.

As to the men I accuse, I do not know them, I have never seen them, I feel neither resentment nor hatred against them. For me they are only entities, emblems of social malfeasance. The action I take here is simply a revolutionary step designed to hasten the explosion of truth and justice.

I have one passion only, for light, in the name of humanity which has borne so much and has a right to happiness. My burning protest is only the cry of my soul. Let them dare, then, to carry me to the court of appeals, and let there be an inquest in the full light of the day!

I am waiting.

Mr. President, I beg you to accept the assurances of my deepest respect.

Emile Zola."

Zola was promptly brought to trial, charged with criminal libel. In the farcical trial he was not permitted to bring the relevant facts regarding the Dreyfus case on the record, and was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and fine.

Trotskys' open letter to Jules Guesde, a former French socialist comrade who had turned a renegade to the socialist cause in 1916 is perhaps one of the most brilliant examples of polemic scorn in the whole history of letterwriting. Thomas Mann's letter to the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Bonn in 1937 who informed him that his name was struck off its roll of honorary doctors and Lion Feuchtwanger's letter (the author of Judge Suss) to Mr. X who occupied his confiscated house under Nazi régime are two very trenchant and powerful indictments of the Nazi nightmare under Hitler. Non-comformist minister, scientist, politician Joseph Priestley was an uncompromising dissenter both in chemical research and religion. He made things hard for himself by his unorthodox views and bold way of proclaiming them. He opposed Burke's popular views on the French Revolution. Incensed at his heresy the jingoes of Birmingham burned his house and chapel to the ground, demolished his laboratory, sacked his library, destroying priceless and irreplaceable manuscript. Immediately after this shocking act of vandalism Priestley addressed an open letter to his fellow citizens of Birmingham which breathed defiance and expressed the indomitable spirit of this fearless fighter for truth as he saw it. To quote some sentences from this letter : "When the *object* was right you thought the *means* could not be wrong....In *destroying* us, you have been led to think, *you did God* and your country the most substantial *service*....In this business we are the sheep and you are the wolf. We will preserve our character, and hope you will yours. At all events we return you blessings for curses."

William Strahan was a friend of Benjamin Franklin between whom letters were exchanged for fifteen years. Strahan was the printer of Johnson's Dictionary and the works of Hume, Adam Smith, Gibbon and Blackstone. He was a member of the Parliament which voted for measures that led eventually to the American War of Independence. The following is a letter that was composed but never sent by Franklin to Strahan.

"Philad" July 5, 1775.

Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction.—You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. —Look upon your hands —They are stained with the Blood of your Relations —You and I were long friends :—You are now my Enemy—and

I am,
Yours,
B. Franklin.

This letter was written in white heat indignation. Let us analyse it. One plain sentence of statement, another of hard accusation, then the third and suddenly throbbed with strong feeling and a bitter image. But the moment of lyrics anger passed and Franklin tempered his last sentence with his deft double entente conclusion.

(7)

To conclude this enjoyable excursion in the realm of letter-writing here are three amusing letters.

"To Winston Churchill
Mount Vernon, New York.
Oct., 16, 1921.

My Dear Sir and Your People,

Don't you know that it is an act of adultery to kill, eat, or slay, or drive cattle?

Don't you know that the cattle want to live the same as you do?

C. Anton B. Birnell."

Bill Nye won nation-wide fame by the following letter. He was an unknown newspaperman who was offered the postmastership of a small town and this is the letter that he wrote to the chief of the Department.

"Office of *Daily Boomrang*, Larmi
City, Wy.
August 9, 1882.

My Dear General,

I have received by telegraph the news of my nomination by the President and my confirmation by the Senate, as postmaster at Larmie, and wish to extend my thanks for the same.

I have ordered an entirely new set of boxes and post office outfit, including new corrugated cupsiders for the lady clerks.

I look upon the appointment, myself as a great triumph of eternal truth over error and wrong. It is one of the epochs, I may say, in the Nations' onward march towards political purity and perfection. I do not know when I have noticed any stride in the affairs of State which so thoroughly impressed me with its wisdom.

Now that we are co-workers in the same department I trust that you will not feel shy or backward in consulting me at any time relative to matters concerning post office affairs. Be perfectly frank with me, and feel perfectly free to just bring anything of that kind right to me. Do not feel reluctant because I may at times appear haughty and indifferent, cold or reserved. Perhaps you do not think I know the difference between a general delivery windows and a three-m quad, but that is a mistake. My general information is far beyond my years.

With profoundest regards, and a hearty endorsement of the policy of the President and the Senate, whatever it may be.

I remain, sincerely yours,
Bill Nye, P.M.
Gen. Frank Hatton, Washington, D. C."

Bill Nye became one of America's favourite humorists and he specialised in that form of humour which the Americans find irresistible. Readers of Babu Pichelal's escapades and reflections thereon which used to appear in the Illustrated Weekly of India will notice sincerity of tone and smug conceits. From this specimen of humoursome self-importance of an American minor State servant let us turn to a begging letter received by a Madras firm seeking a better clerical job.

"Honoured, and Illustrious Sir, you will please remember me as 5th grade clerk in this office, for which there is no scope to inflate, and after all my education in Madras University, where I passed B.A. in two sittings.

Now this mental effort demands greater area for abilities, but forsooth am doomed with unlucky star in firmament, and still serve unceasingly in grade 35-50, less income tax. This, Honoured Sir, can never be with qualifications, which are unbounded, must flow into mid-stream, where brains are measured by Rs. a. p. I have learned much, August Sir, and with tribulation, acquired arts knowing in science, such as 'the apple must fall to the ground' (Isaac Newton) I am also sitting this long time in spare evening vacation acquring the glorious defunct language in Latin—*viz.*, Abba Father and so forth.

Now Reverend Sir, I am, what dogs says to rat, in light corner, for domestic troubles come in plural and sometimes triplicate, causing slight earthquakes in Heavenly household where there is shortage of coin, and to add to this my wife doth bring me in annual incremental successions to the ramification of this generation, and by the Lord there's no end to this mischief.

You will therefore take notice, Noble Sir, and give me appointment in your office, where I shall show all things, including my abilities, which are drooping, and which will wither like fragile plant unless watered by your kind patronage in better job carrying more lucre.

Reply favourably to your humble petitioner, who is straining on beam end, and in duty bound I shall ever pray for long life on your honour's head.

I have the honour to remain, Honoured and Illustrious Sir, your most obedient servant.'

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

PARESHCHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

(V)

RELATION OF INDIA WITH THE OTHER MARITIME NATIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD:

The close relations of India with some other important maritime nationals of the ancient world can be inferred from many notable evidences. The remains of the ancient gold-mining activities in India, particularly in the Deccan and in Manbhum may offer some new lights upon the subject.

In South. India and in Chotanāgpur there are important traces of primitive mine-workings. These were first scientifically noted by Major Munn, Inspector of Mines to the Nizam of Hyderābād. He points out that the districts of Bellāry and Dhārwār are riddled with old workings for gold, copper and iron. A significant thing which attracted his attention was this that, the districts of South India which are studded with pre-historic dolmens (two or more unhewn stones supporting a large flattish stone) yielded the remains of archaic gold-mining activities. This fact has led Perry (The Children of the Sun) and other scholars to postulate that the dolmen-builders and the miners were the same people. Now, it is really very difficult to guess the identity of these ancient miners.[2] It is known that the Egyptians, the Elamites and the Phoenicians regularly sailed to India for gold. Elliot Smith (The Origin of Civilisation, pp. 102-3) probably hints that the sea-loving people of Memphis were responsible for the pre-historic mine-workings of India. From 3rd millenium B.C. onwards "....ships of Egyptian type are known to have trafficking in the Indian Ocean......" These vessels might have carried chiefly the gold-seekers. Further, it is known from the relief of the pyramid temple at Abusir that from the reign of Sahure, the second king of the fifth dynasty, the Egyptians were carrying on considerable foreign trade.

---

[1] Bhandarkar—Charmichael Lectures, 1919.

[2] The miners and the megalith builders were also probably the same people.

Some scholars may even identify the ancient miners with either the Oceanian Austrics or with the Dravidians. But all these are mere conjectures and they cannot be conclusive.

The commercial relation between India, Assyria and Babylonia is also probably known from the Baveru Jātaka and the relief of the palace of Asur Nasir Pal.[1] The sculptures represent the giving of monkey-tribute to the king of Assyria by two men (of black complexion but with pointed nose) wearing turban and "nāgrā" (shoes of upturned fashion). Olmstead cannot find out their nationality. But it seems to us that the persons are clearly Indians who as it is known regularly exported birds, monkeys and peacocks among other animals to the civilised states of Mesopotemia.

In the 6th century B.C. another great nation tried to maintain maritime relation with India. Thus, the Persians under Darius sailed their ships in the Arabian Sea and in the river passages of the Indus and her six affluents. From Herodotus (iv. 44) it is known that, before conquering the Punjāb the Akhaemenian emperor sent a naval squadron under an expert captain in order to explore the rivers of the Punjāb. It is said "of the greater part of Asia Darius was the discoverer. Wishing to know where the Indus (which is the only river save one that produces crocodiles) emptied itself into the sea, he sent a number of men, on whose truthfulness he could rely, and among them Scylax of Carianda, to sail down the river. They started from the city of Caspatyrus, in the region called Pactyica, and sailed down the stream in an easterly direction to the sea. Here he turned westwards and after a voyage of 30 months, reached the place from which the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians to sail round Lybia. After this voyage was completed, Darius conquered the Indians, and made use of the sea in those parts. Thus, all Asia except the eastern portion, has been found to be similarly circumstanced with Lybia." Now, as Rawlinson points out the real course of the Indus is somewhat west of South. The error of Herodotus arose perhaps from the Cābul river being mistaken for the true Indus. If it is true, we will have to assume that the voyage of Scylax was not limited by the course of the Indus, but might also be embraced by other big and small tributaries of the Indus.

Apart from the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Elamites, and the Persians there were some other great maritime nations who came in close contact with India in the ancient days. The Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs colonised in the country in small or large numbers by a natural process resulting in the fusion of a sea-faring spirit among the ancient Indians.

---

[1] Olmstead—History of Assyria; pp. 105-106. Fig. 59.

In the 4th century B.C. Alexander after conquering the Indian territories upto Hyphasis (Beas) retreated his several regiments through a newly made port,[1] under brave Clearchos. Later on in the 1st century A.D. when Hippulus discovered the monsoons a sort of brisk trade went on between India and the Hellenistic world. However, in this connection we may remember the words of Dr. R. D. Banerji, according to which "Like the European traders of the 16th century, the early Greek navigators of the Indian Ocean were more or less pirates and their nefarious activities on the western coast of India, combined with the apathy and lack of protection of Indian commerce on the part of the Indian monarchs very nearly destroyed that commerce".[2] The piratical activities in the Indian waters was probably afterwards continued by the instigation of the Scythian Mahākṣatrapas of South India, who wished to vanquish the rival Sātavāhanas in the commercial field. The Mauryya emperors, it seems, tried to free the Indian Ocean from the Greek Buccaneers. From Kauṭilya we learn that the Mauryya Nāvādhyakṣas (admirals) were responsible for the destruction of "Hiṁsṛkas," which were possibly none other than the pirate-ships.[2]

We have evidences about the fact that in the past days the Greek sailors very intimately mixed with the Indian sailors. Otherwise, how could they know the romantic and mythical accounts about the "Golden peninsula" (Chryse Chersonesos) *i.e.*, the entire Further India. According to an earlier view, the Byzantine Greeks of Asia-Minor founded a colony in South India, which was mentioned by the Periplus as Byzantium. But at present this view has been exploded and it is known that the name was nothing but a Greek transliteration of the Indian name "Vaijayanti" which was the headquarter of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (see, the Nāsik inscription of the year 18; "Senāyaṁ vejayaṁtiye vijaya khadhāvārā......etc.") and the capital of the Kadambas in the later days.

In this connection the history of the Indo-Greeks is also very interesting. It is known that the rival houses of Demetrios and

---

[1] This port "Alexander's Haven" has been identified by present scholars with Barbaricum of the Periplus. The latter, it is held, was "Alasanda" of Kauṭilya. Probably it was "not the question of building a new port, but giving a new name to an old port".

[2] Ibid, p. 145.

Eukratides always fought against each other in the Punjab and in Afghānisthān. In this long-drawn war they greatly used battle-ships. On Numismatic grounds scholars think that Antimachos Theos (possibly indentical with Antimachos Nikephoros) who won a naval victory over his enemies, somewhere on the broad river of the Indus. The king struck coins with Poseidon (sea-god) type. The Triton type of coins of Yavana Hippostrators also bear a marine character.

The Romans also maintained an intimate maritime connection with early India as the witness of which still there remain numerous Roman coins in the coasts of India. Hoards of Roman coins have been discovered at Cānnānore (Naura of the Periplus), which was possibly a favourite port of the Romans. The Roman commerce was very brisk when Egypt became a Roman Province. The Romans immensely imported peppers, pearls, beryls and muslins from India. The growing luxury of the Empire so much led to the drainage of gold that Pliny in the 1st century A.D. deplored it in a most patriotic way. V. A. Smith observed that "the Roman aureus circulated in Southern India......and Roman bronze small change, partly imported and partly minted at Madura, was commonly used in the Bazaars." The same scholar and some others even hold that the Romans formed colonies in Southern India.

Mannert, Ruelens and Walker think that at Muziris (Cranganore ?) a temple was dedicated to Augustus. This view is based upon a rough sketch of an edifice marked "Templ Augusti" beside "Muziris" in the map of the Peutingerian tables. The Tāmil poems tell about Yavana wines, lamps and vases. The testimony is remarkably confirmed by the huge conical Roman vases at Pandicherry and other places during excavations. Smith points out that, the numerous bronze-vessels which are discovered in the Nilgiri Megalithic tombs are very similar to those known to have been produced in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era.

After the passing away of well-nigh several centuries the Muslimised Arabs turned their attention towards India. During the Caliphate of Umar in the year 15 A.H. (A.D. 636) the Arabs first launched their naval attacks on Tānaḥ (mod, Thānā near Bombay) and Barwaṣ (Broach). From this time, onwards, the Arab fleet continued to raid As Sind and the other portions of India from the sea. The final conquest of Sind by the Arabs under Hajjaj (713 A.D.), which is narrated in the historical romance of the Chach-nama, Fatḥ-Nāma or Ta'rīkhi Hind-Wa-Sind is too well-known. As the result of this victory the Arab soldiers got the possession of the cities like Multān, Ālor, Brāhmanābād and Daibul. Thus, India was introduced with the maritime people of Arabia in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D. However, it should be noted that Ceylon also ("the island of rubies" and the "Serendip" of "The Arabian Nights") maintained maritime commerce with Arabia during these days. The attack of the Mids on a ship sent to Hajjaj by "the king of the island of the Rubies" it is told formed the "Cassus Belli" on the part of the Arabs to declare war against Sind, the territory of Dāhir.

Now, it will be marked that from the seventh century A.D. the Indian Ocean was ploughed by the vessels of the Arab "Naukhiya Naurikhas" or the sea-captains, who often colonised the coastal regions as it is testified by the Verevāl grant of Arjuṇadeva and also probably by the Sāmangaḍh inscription of the Rāṣṭrakuṭas. The Arabs during these days were not also lazy in the matter of colonising the Far-East. This is testified by ample evidences. Several locales of the adventures of Sindābād, who was the prototype of a typical Arab sailor during the Abbasid age, have been speculated in the scattered isles of the East-Indies. The migration of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic Arabs in large numbers in the Far-East is a significant occurrence in the history of South-East Asia. The Arab domination was practically complete after the death of Bra Vijaya V, in the 15th century. Although the Hindu kingdom of Bali still maintained her independence the greater portion of Indonesia was conquered by the adventurous sailors of Arabia by this time.

(*Concluded*).

EXCAVATIONS AT CHANDIDAS MOUND; NANOOR, DISTRICT BIRBHUM

K. G. GOSWAMI, M.A.

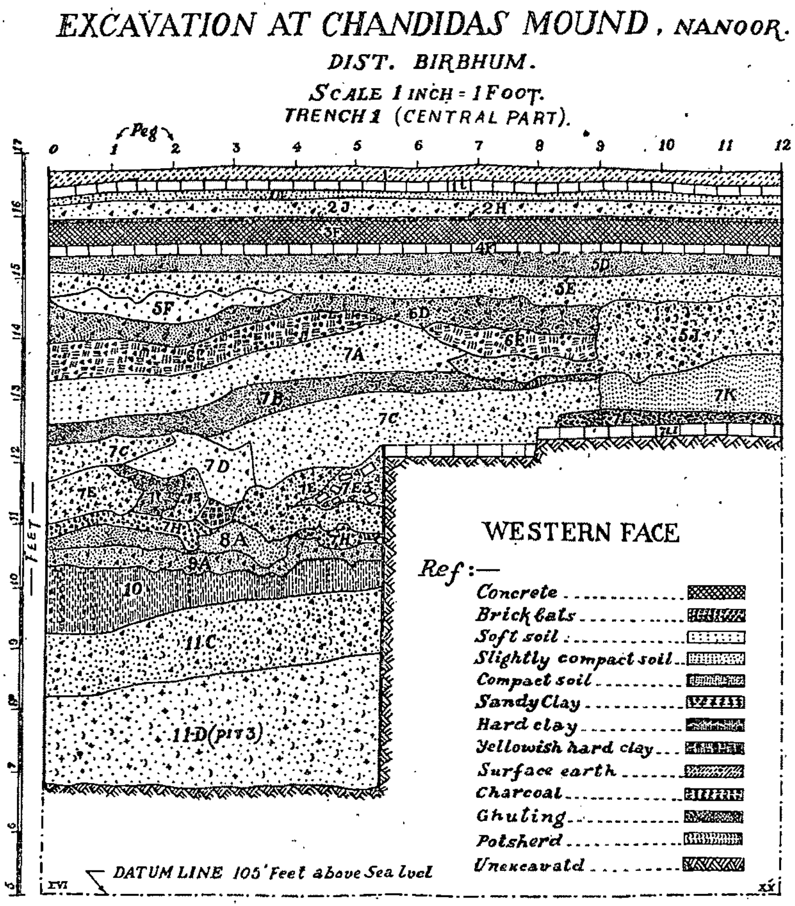
Lecturer, and Officer-in-charge of Excavations, Calcutta University.

The mound of Nanoor which is associated with the hallowed memory of the mediaeval Bengali poet Chandidas occupies a prominent place in the Sadar (Suri) Sub-division of the Birbhum district. Birbhum is the northernmost district of the Burdwan Division. The principal town and administrative headquarters of the district is Suri. This district is a triangular tract of land with its apex towards the north. Birbhum is bounded on the north and the west by the Santal Parganas and Murshidabad, on the east by the districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan and on the south by Burdwan, the river Ajay forming the boundary between the two districts. Almost the entire area of the district consists of an undulating surface with a general trend from the north-west to the south-east.

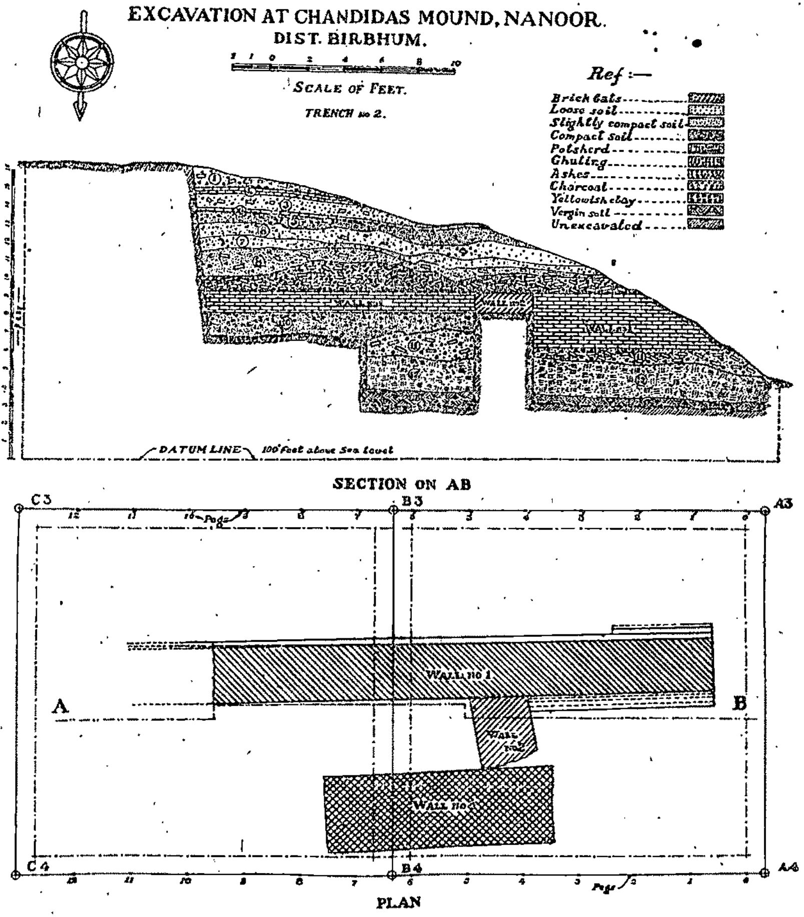
The district is drained by a number of rivers and rivulets running generally from west to east with a slight southerly inclination. Of these the *Mor* and the *Ajay* are comparatively big. Besides these there are other smaller rivers, *viz.*, the *Hingla*, the *Bakreswar*, the *Bansloi*, the *Dvaraka*, the *Pagla*, the *Sal* and the *Kopa*, etc. Birbhum is a rice-producing district.

The modern district of Birbhum is formed partly of the tract of land known as *Rāḍha* and partly of *Vajjabhūmi*. According to the Jaina tradition, *Mahavira*, the last Tirthankara of the Jainas, wandered through these tracts (in the 6th century B.C.). From the ancient description it would seem that the eastern part of the district well watered by rivers, formed part of Rāḍha, while the western part consisting of the wilder and more rugged tract was aptly known as Vajjabhūmi. One of the oldest scriptures of the Jainas—the ***Avarangasutta*** says that Mahavira " travelled in the pathless countries of the *Lāḍhas*, in *Vajjabhūmi* and *Subbhabhūmi*, he used here miserable beds and miserable seats. Even in the faithful part of the rough country the dogs bit him and ran at him ; few people kept off the attacking, biting dogs. Striking the monk, they cried out *Chu-chu* and made the dogs bite him. Such were the inhabitants. Many other mendicants, eating rough food in *Vajjabhūmi* and carrying

Plate I


EXCAVATION AT CHANDIDAS MOUND, NANOOR.
DIST. BIRBHUM.
SCALE 1 INCH = 1 FOOT.
TRENCH 1 (CENTRAL PART).
Peg
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5
FEET
1L
2J
2H
3F
4F
5D
5E
5F
5J
6D
6E
6F
7A
7B
7C
7D
7E
7H
7K
7L
8A
9A
10
11C
11D (PIT 3)
WESTERN FACE
Ref :—
Concrete
Brick bats
Soft soil
Slightly compact soil
Compact soil
Sandy Clay
Hard clay
Yellowish hard clay
Surface earth
Charcoal
Ghuting
Potsherd
Unexcavated
DATUM LINE 105' Feet above Sea Level
XVI
XV

(a)


EXCAVATION AT CHANDIDAS MOUND, NANOOR.
DIST. BIRBHUM.
SCALE OF FEET.
TRENCH No. 2.
Ref :—
Brick bats
Loose soil
Slightly compact soil
Compact soil
Potsherd
Ghuting
Ashes
Charcoal
Yellowish clay
Virgin soil
Unexcavated
WALL
DATUM LINE 100' Feet above Sea Level
SECTION ON AB
C3
B3
A3
C4
B4
A4
Peg
A
B
WALL No 1
WALL No 2
WALL No 3
PLAN

(b)

about a strong pole lived there. Even thus armed, they were bitten by the dogs. It is difficult to travel in *Lādha* ". (J. A. S. B. 1908, pp. 285-86). In the Jaina *Pannavaṇā*, *Koḍivarisam* (Koṭivarṣa) and *Lāḍha* are mentioned in connection with the *āriyas* or land of the Aryans (Ind. Ant. XX (1891) p. 375f). *Rāḍha* formed part of the territory ruled over by the Mauryas. Subsequently it formed part of the Gupta Empire and thereafter passed into the hands of *Sasanka* and *Harsavardhana.* After the dismemberment of Harsa's empire sufficient light cannot be thrown on the history of this part of the country for nearly two centuries. Later it was included in the Pala empire and continued as such till about the middle of 12th century, when the ownership passed to the Sena dynasty. *Jayadeva*, the composer of the famous lyric *Gītagovinda* who hailed from *Kenduli* on the Ajay in this district, was a court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in the latter half of 12th century A.D.

In the 13th century A.D., the district passed, under the rule of the Muslims and according to some authorities, Lakhanor (or Lakhnur) an important frontier post of the Muslim territory lay within its jurisdiction.

Vaiṣṇavism appears to have played an important part in successive ages in this district. The Vaiṣṇava poet Jayadeva, as mentioned above, was born at Kenduli or Kendnvilva of this district, and his *samādhi* place is also found there.

Then came *Chandīdāsa,* who according to tradition, was born at Nanoor, the place which was recently excavated by Calcutta University. Chandidāsa was a poet of great fame, who composed charming lyric poems in Bengali in the post-Jayadeva and pre-Chaitanya age (c. 14th—15th cent. A.D.). It is said that Śrī Chaitanya was very much interested in his poems and took great pleasure in hearing the recitation of those poems. Chandidāsa as his name signifies was probably a *Śākta* by birth, but was converted to *Vaiṣṇavism.* His lyrics mainly extols the love affairs of *Kriṣṇa* and *Rādhā.*

In succeeding period another *Vaiṣṇava* preacher—*Nityānanda* one of the contemporaries and chief associate of Chaitanya was born at *Garbhāvās* near Birchandrapur in this district.

Besides Nanoor, there is a number of historically important sites in the district. The following ones among others may be mentioned :—

(1) *Pāikoḍ,* where a stone inscription of Chedi king Karna (c. 11th century A.D.) was discovered by Śrī Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya. Evidences of old stone images and ancient ruins are found here.

(2) *Duvrajpur* in Suri Sub-division 14 miles to the South west of Suri is the find spot of a number of copper cast coins and possesses an extensive ancient mound.

(3) *Sidhal*—near Ahmadpur Ry. Station supposed to be the birth-place of *Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa* (identified with Siddhala mentioned in Bhavadeva-prasasti (Ep. Ind. VI, p. 203-7)—contains ancient mounds.

(4) *Bakreswar*—a village about 6 miles to the north of Duvrajpur, contains ancient mounds. An image of *Aṣṭādaśabhujā* (18-handed) *mahiṣamardinī* is found here.

(5) *Tārāpur* and (6) *Lābpur* are regarded as ancient *pīṭhasthānas* or places of Tantric importance.

(7) *Bhīmgarh* in Suri Sub-division, 6 miles south west of Duvrajpur close to the banks of the Ajay is the site of an old fort.

(8) *Garbhāvās*, birth place of Nityananda (the chief associate of Chaitanya) and place of pilgrimage where a big fair is held every year in honour of Nityananda.

(9) *Vīranagar* in Rampurhat sub-division contains ruins of ancient habitation.

(10) *Kendūli* or *Kenduvilva*—birth-and Samādhi-place of Jayadeva, the author of *Gītagovinda*, and one of the court poets of King Lakṣmaṇasena.

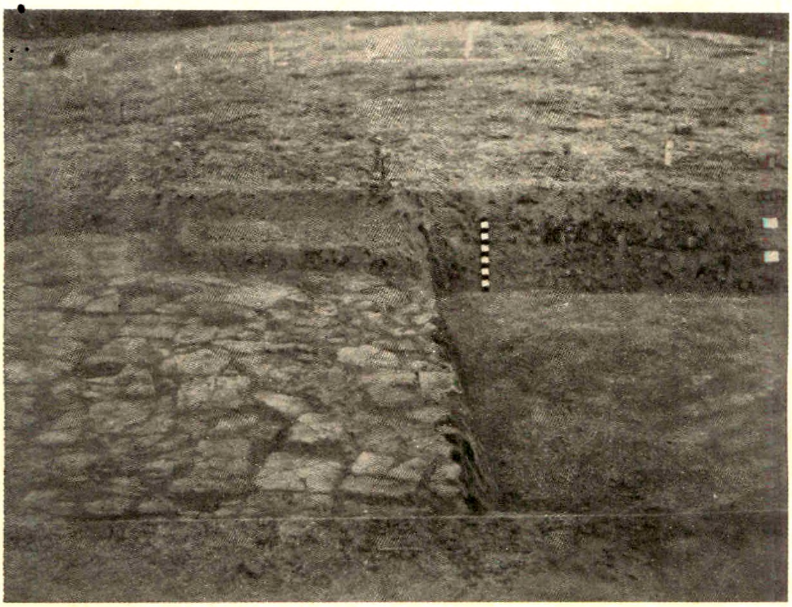
(11) *Vīrachandrapur*—called after the name of Virachandra, son of Nityananda, is also a place of importance.

Nanoor is one of the early and prominent members of the above list. It forms a group in association with the village *Uchkaran* (which is about 3 miles from Nanoor), *Kirnahar* (a business centre about 6 miles away) and such other places. Uchkaran and neighbouring villages show temples containing beautiful terracotta plaques of various Puranic and popular scenes. Some such plaques have been collected from these villages for the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University.* The existing two temples in front of the goddess *Viśālākṣī* at Nanoor also contain terracotta plaques of the above description for decorative purposes. These plaques may be attributed to the 18th century A.D. The present site of the temple of *Viśālākṣī*

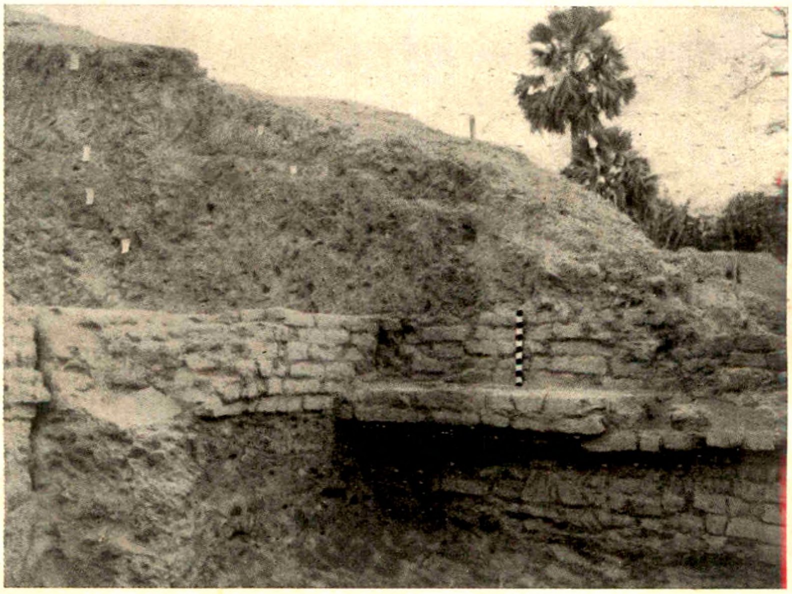
---

* Two of the nice terracotta plaques collected from Uchkaran represent two scenes from the *Ramayana*, one showing departure of Lakemana leaving Sita alone at the cottage in the forest before her abddction by Ravana and the other the presentation by Hanuman of Rama's ring to Sita as a token of his coming from Rama.

Plate II

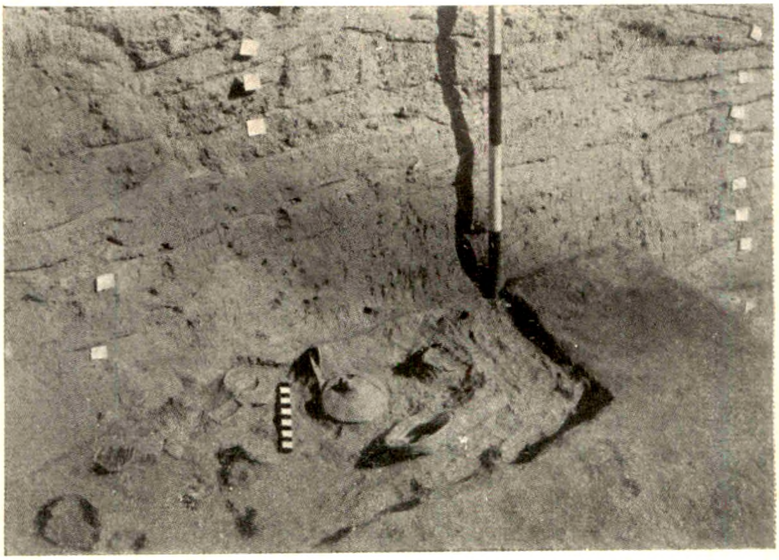


(*a*) View of Successive Floors, Tr. I

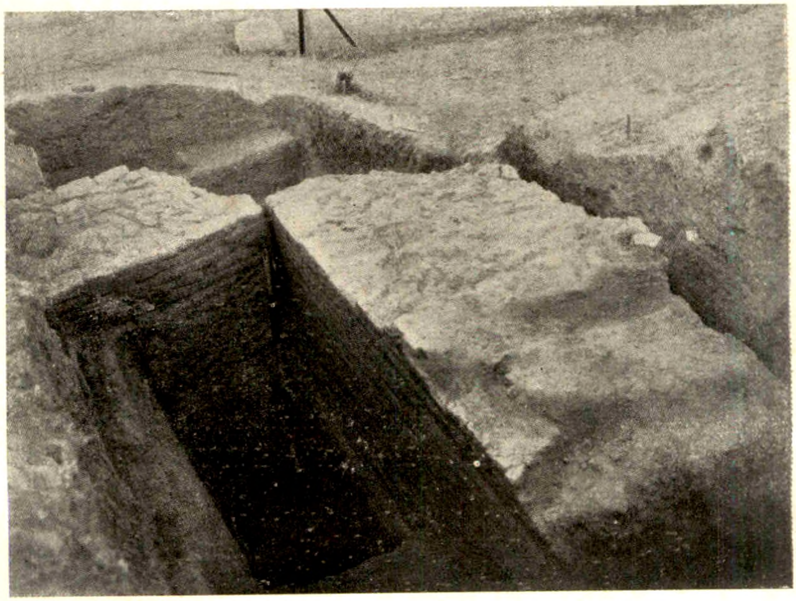


(*b*) View of Wall No. I, Tr. II

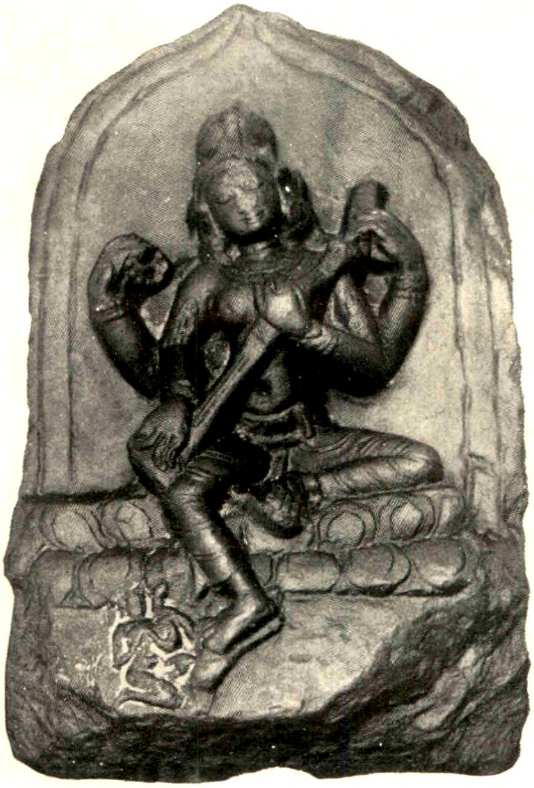
Plate III



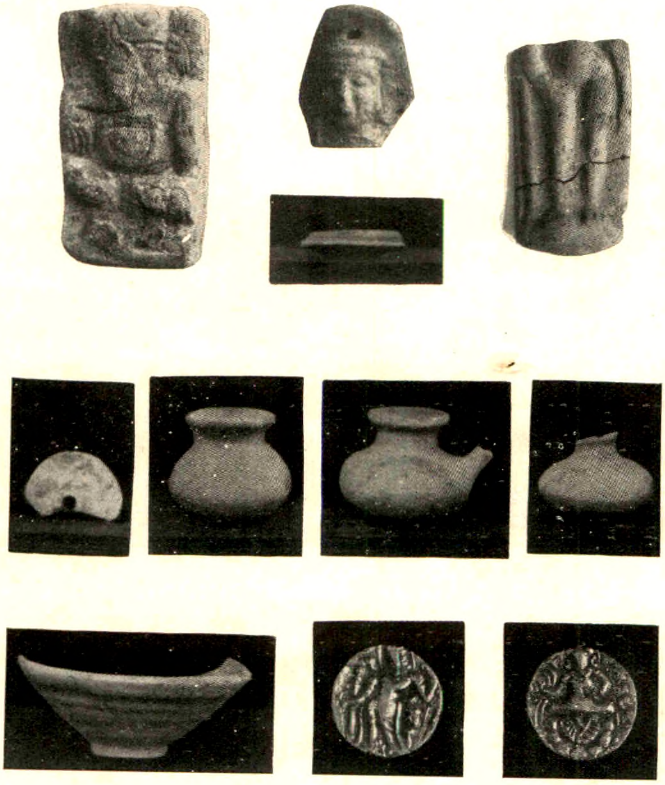
(*a*) Excavation in Progress, Tr. I



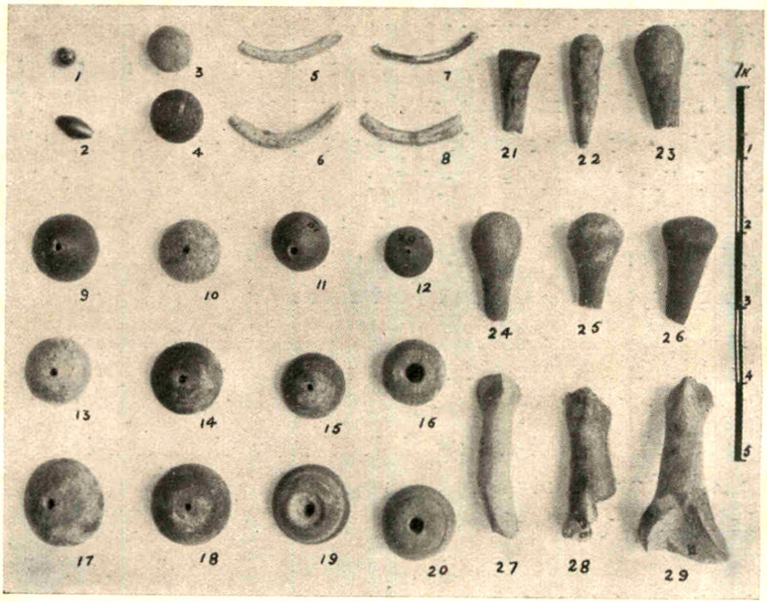
(*b*) View of Wall No. 3, Tr. II



Stone Image of Goddess Viśālākṣī



(*a*) Miscellaneous Objects


1
3
5
7
2
4
6
8
21
22
23
1 IN
1
2
3
4
5
9
10
11
12
24
25
26
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
27
28
29

(*b*) Miscellaneous Objects

has been in occupation for more than two hundred years at least as can be made out from the study of the art and architecture connected with the temples there. So far as numismatic evidence is concerned a gold coin of *Narasinha Gupta Baladitya* was discovered a few years ago in the locality as a chance find (Pl. V. a, bottom). It is said that some more gold coins were also found sometime back but unfortunately they cannot be traced now. There is in the neighbourhood of (*i.e.*, about one mile away from) Nanoor, a place named *Nalgarhe* (probably equivalent to *Nar Garh*) which is likely called after the name of Narasinha Gupta who probably had some connection with the place as is evident from the find of his gold coin at Nanoor. There are some ancient mounds at this place and evidences of large sized bricks usually pertaining to the Gupta period were found here also. This place is not protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, with the result that the mounds are being reduced in size every year for the purpose of cultivation. Systematic excavation at this place is expected to yield interesting results.

The stone image, which is worshipped in the temple adjacent to the mound where excavation was carried on by the excavation party of the University is called *Viśālākṣī.* According to local tradition, she was dug out of the Chandidas mound several decades ago. The image has four arms, the right upper one holds *akṣamālā,* the left upper a *manuscript* and the lower two (hands) hold a *Vīṇā* (harp). She sits on a full bloomed lotus in *Rājalīlā* pose and a devotee is seen kneeling near her right foot. She wears a crown on her head. The mantra or *dhyāna* which is used in her daily worship does not agree with her physical features. But her features agree with the description found in a couplet of the *Agnipurāṇa.** (Pl. IV).

The image belongs to the Pala school of Sculptures (Bengal) and may be ascribed to 10th-11th century A.D.

So far as the history of the excavation at the Chandidas mound (at Nanoor) is concerned, a move was taken for the digging at this place by some local gentlemen including Śrī Harekrishna Mukhopādhyāya, Śrī Anadikinkar Roy and others who approached the then

---

* dhyāyed-devīṃ viśālākṣīṃ śaradindu-śobhānanāṃ
chatur-bāhu-dharāṃ vīṇāṃ dhārayantīṃ tribhir-bhujaiḥ,
japantīm-eka-hastena chākṣa-mālāṃ vara-pradāṃ
vāmaṃ padmāsane nyasya pādaṃ dakṣaṃ śiropari.

But the Agnipurāṇa contains a couplet a portion of which agrees with the features of the Nanoor image—*e.g.* " pustākṣamālikā-hastā vīṇhastā Sarasvatī "

Agni Purāṇa. Ch. 50. Verse 16

quoted from the *Bīrabhāma-vivaraṇa*, Vol. III (pp. 137-38) by Harekrishṇa Mukhopādhyāya.

District Magistrate Sri S. N. Chatterjee for help. The latter took the matter in right earnest, raised funds for the purpose and made correspondence with the University for taking up the work. The University authorities agreed to the proposal and approached the Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to excavate the mound which the latter readily granted (on certain conditions). The University supplied the personnel of the excavation party.* together with their pay, while other expenses were met out of the funds collected by the District Magistrate of Birbhum. The actual digging was started in the winter of 1946.

The District Magistrate Sri S. N. Chatterjee, Sri Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay, Sri Anadi Kinkar Ray, Sri Raj Chandra Sarkar (of Kirnahar), Khan Saheb Abdul Majid Chaudhury and some other local gentlemen took keen personal interest in the operation and lent their helping hands for the arrangement of labour, camping and other necessary things in connection with the excavation.

The Chandidas mound which is about 550 ft. in circumference and about 17 ft. in height from the adjacent road level was divided into four equal sectors and the south-western quarter was taken up for operation. The area was divided into 20′ × 20′ squares and two trial trenches—one measuring 60′ × 20′ (C M.1) and the other 30′ × 20′ (C.M.2) were dug in that area.

C.M 1.

The central pit in C.M.1 shows as many as five occupation levels, *viz.* (1) 1L, (2) 2H, 3F, 4F, (3) 5K, 5K′, (4) 7L, 7L′ and (5) 12. They represent floors of *surki* and concrete and in upper level (2H), ghuting is found mixed with *surki* and concrete (PL.I.a). These levels may be co-related with some occupation levels exposed in C.M.2. From a study of these levels in both the areas one will be inclined to attribute the occupation level of Wall No. 1 (C.M.2) and layer 12 of the central pit (C.M.1) to the same period (*i.e.* Gupta period) both the floors being about 9 ft. above the datum line. Floors (one consisting of 2H, 3F, 4F) and (the other consisting of 7L, 7L′) of C.M.1 will correspond roughly to floors (2) and (4) respectively of C.M.2.

---

* The party consisted of the following :—

[1] Sri K. G. Goswami, M.A.

[2] Sri S. R. Das M.A.

[3] ,, P. C. Dasgupta Post-Graduate Student.

[4] ,, K. C. Sarkar, Draftman-Photographer.

The uppermost floor (1L) of C.M.1 may also roughly be co-related with the floor made up of layers (1A and 1B) of ghuting and concrete and bricks (C.M.1 southern slope), both being about 16′ to 16½′ above the datum.

The earliest occupation level in connection with wall No. 1 is about 2 ft. above the adjacent road level. This occupation level as stated above was presumably associated with the later phase of the Gupta period, as is evident from the types of bricks, etc. The types of bricks found in the cultivated field of Nalgarhe about a mile to the south of Nanoor also confirm this assertion. A few years ago a gold coin of king Narasinha Gupta Baladitya as already stated was found by a local gentleman of this place. It is now held by the members of his family as a valuable heir-loom and was shown to me by Sri Khagendra Bhattacharyya of that family.

Although evidences of earlier occupation of the site were forthcoming from the southern portion (C.M.1) of the mound from a lower level (PL. III. a), the place shows signs of a more flourishing condition in matters of construction of brick houses, etc., during the Gupta period. Various types of pottery (Pl. VI) have been unearthed from this trench (C.M.1) from different levels.

After studying the cross-section of the southern part of C.M.1, we find that a heap of bricks and brick-bats at about 7½′ ft. above the datum line, indicates the earliest use of these materials in this area. To the south of this heap, an ash-pit and deposit of rubbish show some disturbances by human agencies in these quarters in earlier as well as later periods.

So far as structural evidences are concerned, we find three different occupational periods in this area—*viz.* (1) the earliest one is represented by the heap of bricks and brick-bats, (2) the second level is indicated by the fragmentary wall No. 4 (4′10″ wide) running east to west. This wall is contemporaneous with the temple-like structure which has been partially exposed in the south-western corner of the mound; (3) the third level is represented by the upper debris (bricks and brick-bats below the brick-pavement at the top). Some pottery objects (*e.g.* saucers, dishes, cups vases, etc.) were found in the lower level in the southern part of this trench (C.M.1).

In the pit (XVI-XX) of C.M.1 there have been found as many as five floor levels (PL.I. a) *viz*:—(1) The uppermost one is a line

(½″ thick) of ghuting upon 2″ thick concrete which again stands on one course of brick (16′9″ above D.M). (2) The second floor at a level 15′10″ above D.M. is a line of ½″ thick ghuting above 4″ thick concrete and *surki* followed by one course of bricks (2½″—3″ thick). (PL. II. a). (3) The third floor at a level of 14′3″ above D.M. consists of two courses (5″) of bricks below 1″-2½″ thick plaster of *surki*, etc. (4) The fourth floor at a level 12′9″ above D.M. is made up of (*a*) ghuting mixed with dark soft earth (3″ thick), (*b*) *surki* (2″ thick) and (*c*) pavement one course of bricks of (2½″ thick). The fourth floor is by the side of a broken wall only three courses (7½″ thick) of bricks of which are found at the bottom. (5) The fifth floor consisting of a brick pavement comes at a level 4½ ft. below the 4th or 8′3″ above D.M. line. The heap of bricks and brickbats in C.M.1 Sec. IX-X is about 7′6″ above the datum line and may therefore be co-related with the fifth floor in the deep pit in central portion of C.M.1 section XVII-XVIII (east face).

The excavation was brought to a close for the time being when the 5th floor was discovered.

In the centre of the mound in C.M.1 a complete human skeleton (4′10″ long) was found buried below one of the pucca floors (*i.e.* the floor consisting of layers 2H, 3F, 4F) which was cut through just according to the measurement of the body (PL. VII). The skeleton was lying roughly north to south with its head towards the north. The skeleton shows 16 teeth in its upper jaw and 15 in the lower. The face was found slightly turned towards the east. The body was buried either (*i*) for concealment after murder or (*ii*) as *samādhi* of some saint or *sādhu* or (*iii*) for disposing off after *tantric sādhanā* which requires at times dead bodies.

C.M. 2.

In this area that is the western part of the mound some structural finds have been discovered though in a very damaged condition. The Excavation has revealed remains of three walls in this trench. Wall No. 3 is supposed to be the earliest brick structure here. (PL. III. b). It stands on blackish compact earth slightly above the virgin soil. The usual size of the bricks used in this wall is 14½″ or 14″ × 9″ × 2″ or 2¼″. The eastern portion of the southern face of this wall has got mouldings of partly rounded bricks. This wall was strongly built (4ft. wide) and seems to have heavily suffered at the hands of the brick-robbers on the east as well as on the west.

Marks of robbers' trench are quite clear in the western side. This wall probably suffered from some catastrophe—some heavy shock of earthquake or the like, from north to south, as a good number of fallen bricks is found constituting a debris about 1½ ft. high in a slanting position towards the south from the foot of this wall. The above-mentioned debris was found below the foundation of wall No. 1. (PL. II b). This wall is also very massive (4′6″ wide at the foundation and 2′10″ wide above the offset) and has been traced to a length of 27′ from the western extremity of the mound upto the eastern limit of the trench and shows a tendency to go further. The eastern limit of the wall No. 1 yet remains to be seen. This wall is built of bricks measuring 14″ × 9″ × 2¾″ and 13½″ × 8½″ × 2½″. Some bricks of the sizes 9″ × 9″ × 3″ and 4½″ × 4½″ × 3″ were also picked up from this trench. The wall No. 1 appears to have been supported by a wall (No.2) 4′3″ long (north to south) and 3′0″ wide (E.W.) (PL. I. b). The latter is not bonded with wall No. 1 as it was a later addition though almost contemporary in age. They stand on the same layer of earth and their occupation level seems to be the same. The existing height of the wall No. 1 above the uppermost offset is 1′0″ (*i.e.* five courses of bricks). This wall had been sealed up by a layer (8A) of darkish compact earth mixed with bricks and brickbats. This wall was built later than wall No.3 as the former has for its foundation blackish hard earth mixed with brickbats and potsherds and ashes (layer 10) deposited with the debris of wall No.3. The occupation level of the building consisting of wall No. 1 seems to be on the floor of *surki* and concrete (8B), found to the south of this wall. The mortar used in these walls is mud. The mound in this section shows three periods of occupation (PL. I. b). The earliest one which is represented by the walls detailed above, probably extended over the Gupta-Pala period, and the other two were represented by two pavements. The higher one consists of two courses of bricks and the lower one one course only. The area covered by these pavements is a fairly large one. Both the pavements are supposed to be the occupation levels or floors of the later period (probably Muslim)—one earlier in age and the other later. These two structures show marks of lime on concrete. Some tongue-shaped bricks (10″ x 4″ x ¾″) with one side rounded and the other with a rim also came up from the mound. They were used for decorative purposes.

In between the early walls (1, 2, 3) of C.M.2 and the floors which are found in C.M.1 and 2, at higher levels is the foundation of a broken wall (No. 4 C.M.1-4′10″ wide) 9 ft. above D.M. running east to west, (*in Tr. No.1.*) A solid structure of similar bricks almost at the same level (about 9′ above D.M.) was partly exposed at the south-western part of the mound. These two structures mark another period in the history of the mound. These are probably the remnants of the Pala age.

The extensive lower floor, consisting of one course of bricks (marked as 4, 14′ above D.M. and 15′ above D.M. at places) runs almost throughout the mound. It appears to belong to the early Muslim period as has already deen stated. This extensive area cannot presumably be taken as forming part of a single building but is likely to represent a pavement where some public gathering or functions used to take place.

Antiquities

So far as the antiquities are concerned the excavated area of Nanoor has not yielded any evidence which bears a definite date. Consequently recourse has to be taken to types and styles of objects found there for ascribing approximate date to them.

Stone objects

An Image of Gaṇeśa in low relief (2.26″ x 1.36″) carved on a piece of grey sand-stone is the only stone-antiquity which came out from the excavated area. The work is a crude one and might be ascribed to a late period (c. 15th-16th cent. A.D.) [PL. V (a) Top. left-hand fig.]. This antiquity was found in the dump.

Terracottas

1. Fragment of terracotta female figure (torso). The workmanship is crude and the object is badly damaged. The prominent naval and two strains of girdle are visible. This might be ascribed to 3rd-4th cent. A.D. (Find spot C.M.I. III-2′ × 4′3″ × 3′ (6)*).

2. Lower part of a terracotta standing female figure in relief with right hand akimbo (in two fragments). The figure was prepared by means of mould and might have been a representation of the mother goddess. This figure may be ascribed to late Gupta period. (C.M.I. No. 103, VII-0 × 10′-0″ × 2′2″. [PL. V (a) top. right-hand fig.].

---

* **The number within braket means *layer*.**

3. The head of a terracotta figure with a hole at the top for hanging by means of a cord on the wall was discovered from C.M.2 8-2'3" × 3'1" × 3'5" (5). The face is a lovely one and may be attributed to c. 10th cent. A.D. [PL. V (a) Top. central fig.].

4. Three heads of terracotta snakes—two from C.M.I (5D) and one from C.M.2 (11) (PL. v.b. 27-29) were also unearthed. These antiquities appear to belong to the mediaeval period. The find of these objects proves that snake worship was prevalent at Nanoor during the Muslim rule. [PL. V (b) Nos. 27-29].

5. A number of terracotta stoppers also came out from different levels of both the trenches—the lowest level being 7'6" C.M.I (6C) and the highest 1'6" C.M.2 (6) [PL. V (b) 21-26].

6. A few terracotta toys in fragments bearing the figures of bulls, horses, wheels, etc. were also brought to light, but their condition was not at all satisfactory.

7. A number of terracotta beads [Pl. V (b) 9-20] some of which might have served as spindle whorls, and terminals, was picked up in course of excavation from various layers. The presence of spindle whorls goes to prove that spinning was a favourite pastime with the people of this place. The terracotta beads were probably used by the poorer class of the society or were used as net-sinkers.

8. Some fragments of terracotta bangles also were brought to light and had probably been used by the poorer folk.

9. Of other miscellaneous objects, fragments of shell bangles C.M.I [Pl. V (b)], No. 5 from (7N), No.6 from (5F) and No.8 from (11C) and glass bangle [Pl. V (b)] No.7 from (6), and iron nails, etc. may be mentioned.

As regards stone beads one round specimen of agate from C.M.I. (7C) (dia. ·4") (PL. V.b. 1.) and another barrel-shaped bead of carnelian from C.M.2 (10) (length. ·5") (of the pre-Gupta period?) [PL. V (b) 2.] were found in course of digging.

Pottery. (PL.VI)

Of all the objects found at Nanoor pottery plays a remarkable part. A detailed account of the different types of pottery is given below :—

(1) Pottery saucer with wide mouth, tapering flat bottom and corrugated body, dia. 6.25″, ht. 3.45″, C.M.I. (6)* was probably used for keeping household articles. (The colour is greyish cream and bears finger grooves both inside and outside).

(2) Small vase (dia. 3.25″, ht. 3.15″) with round bottom and curved shoulder was probably used for household purposes. C.M.I. (5B)—colour light reddish.

(3) Pan-handle—reddish in colour with red slip and two circular marks indented inside (C.M.I.).

(4) Lamp (wheel made) (dia. 2.32″, ht. 0.9″) colour red with black marks owing to burning C.M.I. (1).

(5) Lamp (hand made) colour greyish with reddish slip (length 2.85″, ht. 1.2″) C.M.I. (6).

(6) Spouted vase with round bottom and greyish cream colour dia. 3.8″, ht. 3.12″ C.M.I. (6).

(7) Narrow-mouthed small vase with two grooves on the shoulder and round bottom, grey in colour, dia 3.25″, ht. 2.5″ C.M.I. (6E).

(8) Saucer with wide mouth and tapering flat bottom and corrugated body (inside and outside), reddish in colour, dia. at the mouth 8.58″ dia. at the bottom 2.2″, ht. 3.4″ C.M.I. (6).

(9) Fragment of lid with knob at the top and flat bottom—reddish in colour; (dia. at the bottom 2.1″) C.M.I. (dump).

(10) Fragment of handled cooking pan, dia. (after reconstruction) 11.8″ light red C.M.I. (7A).

(11) Cooking pan with flanged rim, grey body with slightly red rim, dia. (after reconstruction) 9.8″, ht. 3.4 ″ C.M.I (8).

(12) Lid with a rim showing both inward and outward projection; indication of red slip is found inside the lid and over the rim, dia. 4.8″, ht. 1.5″ C.M.I (11C).

(13) Lid with flanged rim showing slightly red slip inside and at the top dia. 6.25″, ht. 1.5″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I (8).

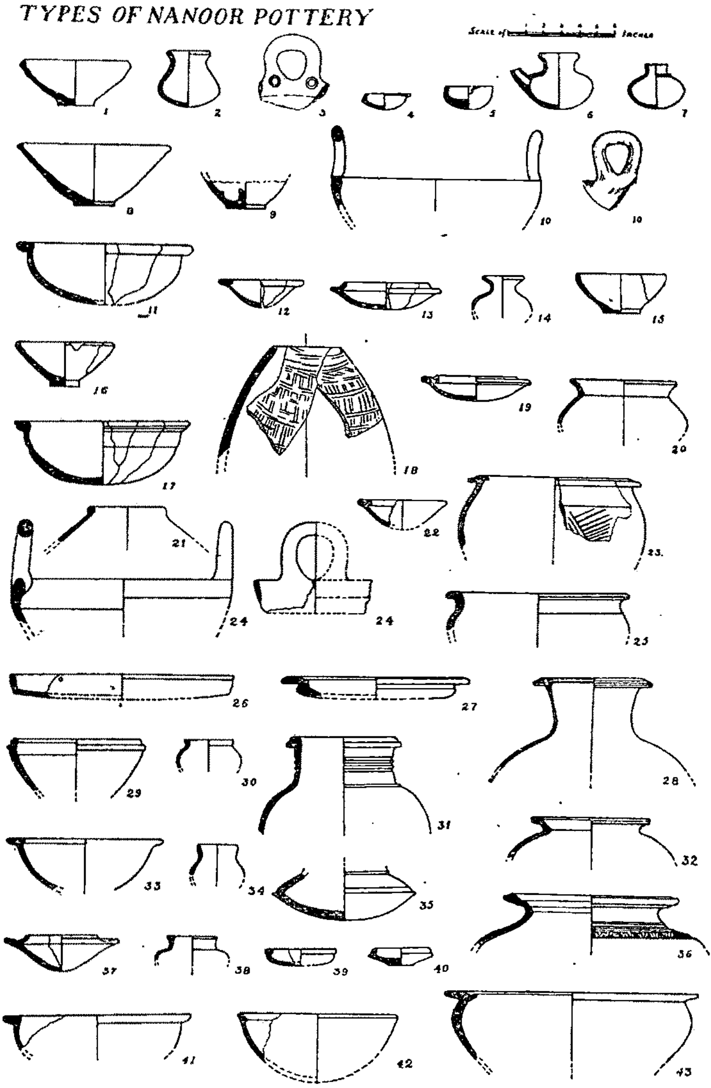
(14) Vase with flanged rim, thin fabric with grey colour, dia. 2.35″ (at the top) C.M.I. (8).

(15) Bowl with wide mouth and small flat base and corrugated tapering body. It has a coarse reddish fabric, dia. 5.1″, ht. 2.4″ C.M.I. (8).

(16) Bowl with wide mouth and small flat base with slightly slanting rim. Colour and fabric are like those of type 15, dia. 5.7″, ht. 2.4″.

---

* The number within bracket means *layer*.


TYPES OF NANOOR POTTERY
Scale of Inches
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43

Types of Pottery

(17) Bowl of coarse greyish fabric with flanged rim and indication of slightly red slip on the rim: dia. 9.85″; ht. 3.5″ C.M.I (8).

(18) Ellipsoid jar with scratchings all over the surface of the body of slightly red coarse fabric; dia. 3.75″ (at the mouth) C.M.I (8).

(19) Carinated lid with rim of outward projection, dia. 6.15″, ht. 1.35″, C.M.I.

(20) Cooking vessel with flanged rim, coarse fabric with red slip dia. 7.3″ C.M.I. (8).

(21) Storage jar of mediocre size with short neck of coarse reddish fabric: dia. at the mouth 4.45″ C.M.I. (2).

(22) Lid with inward and outward projection of reddish colour, dia. 5.0″ C.M.I. (8).

(23) Cooking vessel with projecting rim; regular scratching marks on the body; coarse fabric with slightly red colour, dia. 10.5″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

(24) Cooking pan with ring-handle; slightly red coarse fabric, dia. 11.0″ (after reconstruction), C.M.I. (8).

(25) Storage jar with wide mouth and short flanged rim of thick coarse fabric and slightly red colour, dia. 10.3″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

(26) Dish with flat base and black polish both inside and outside, with straight rim containing on the exterior two parallel lines, one at the top and the other at the bottom. The reconstruction has been done from a fragment. This dish may be compared with similar object of same shape and fine grained fabric (¼″ thick), colour and polish of the early period (*i.e.*, Maurya-Sunga period). Similar objects were found at the lower level of Bangarh (*i.e.*, Maurya-Sunga level). This dish also may be attributed to an early age (*i.e.*, Maurya-Sunga) dia. 12.4″ (after reconstruction), ht. 1.45″ C.M.I. (5E).

(27) Dish with splaying rim bearing two parallel grooves at the top and grey fabric with black polish inside and red polish outside, dia. 10.6″ (after reconstruction), ht. 1.25″ (thickness of fabric 0.25″) C.M.I. (1).

(28) Water jar with short flanged rim and red thin fabric: dia. top 6.75″ C.M.I. (4).

(29) Carinated bowl with lines indented inside and outside; black polish inside and red outside; dia. 7.7″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (1).

(30) Miniature vase with short flanged rim, narrow neck and round body with fine fabric of red colour; dia. (at the top) 2·75″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

(31) Jar with a series of grooves on the neck and projecting rim, grey fabric (·25″ thick), dia. (at the top) 6.4″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (4).

(32) Cooking vessel with short flanged rim, fine grained fabric with red colour; dia. 6.65″ after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

(33) Bowl with rim of inside and outside projection, coarse fabric of reddish colour; dia. 8.7″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (6).

(34) Miniature (fragmentary) vase with round body and slightly flanged neck of fine reddish fabric; dia. 2.35″ C.M.I. (4).

(35) Vessel with one groove on the belly and indication of another on the shoulder and convex bottom, thick red fabric; dia. 8.0- C.M.I. (8).

(36) Storage jar with decorative indented design (chevron) on the shoulder and flanged rim; coarse fabric of reddish colour; dia. (at the mouth) 9.8″ C.M.I. (4)

(37) Jar-cover with a flange near the shoulder and convex base, coarse fabric with red colour dia. 6.35″, ht. 2.0″ C.M.I. (8).

(38) Small vase with short neck and fine reddish fabric; dia. 4.1″ (after reconstruction) (at the mouth) C.M.I. (8).

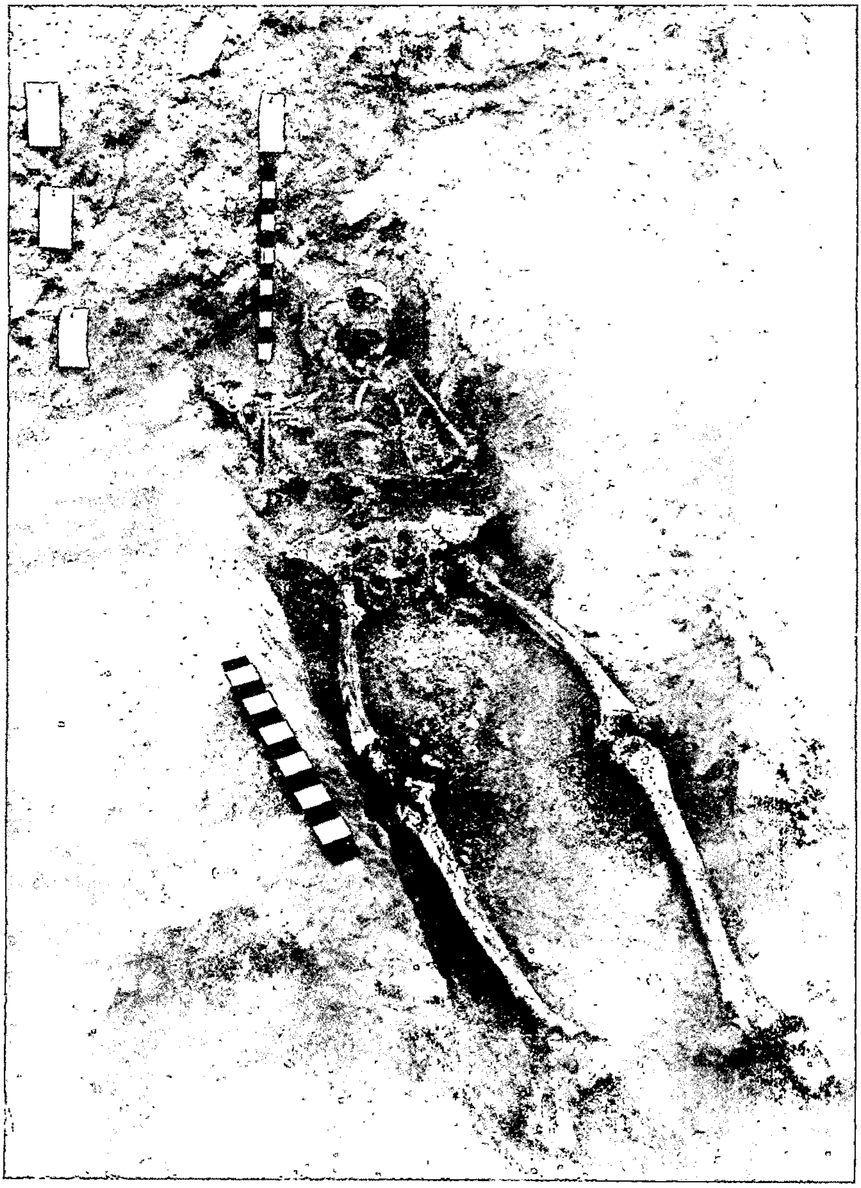
(39) Miniature dish with short carinated rim and fine reddish fabric; dia. 4.0″, ht. .90″ C.M.I. (5).

(40) Jar-cover of coarse grey fabric with inverted rim, dia. 3.6″ C.M.I. (5).

(41) Bowl with short flanged neck and of coarse reddish fabric, dia. 10.4″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

(42) Bowl of hemispherical shape of reddish colour, dia. 9.0″, ht. 3.65″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

(43) Storage jar with flanged rim and finely grained fabric, black inside and reddish polish outside; dia. 14.2″ (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (7).



Human Skeleton

Round the World

Birth of the Republic

On the 26th of January last India was proclaimed a republic. This is an event the significance of which none should miss. In dim distant past when the very idea of Indian unity had not been mooted and the country was only a congeries of petty states, some of them were according to traditions administered on a republican basis. The Lichchavis of Vaisali were known to constitute one such tribal republic of olden days. Since these petty states were absorved in the expanding Magadhan Empire, India has been inured only to monarchical traditions. During a long period of two thousand and five hundred years which have elapsed since then there have been many ups and downs in Indian History. Empires have been built and broken, dynasties formed and overturned, the country united and divided but in the midst of all these freaks of fortune there was no loosening of the hold of the monarchical principle. Even during the hundred years of the East India Company's rule in this country, although the government was that of the Company, there was the British monarchy behind it. In considerable portions of India also princely rule prevailed although that rule became increasingly subject to the paramountcy of the Company.

These traditions of twentyfive hundred years were gone back upon on the 26th of January last. The objectives resolution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly very early in its career. That resolution has been embodied in the Constitution as its preamble. It states that the people of India have solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic. In conformity with this preamble the proclamation was made on the day mentioned above.

In history, republic has not meant anything fixed, definite and uniform. It has, of course, always implied that at the head of it there would be no hereditary prince. But apart from it the republic has not signified any particular form of government or social and political ideal. It has meant as much the Rome of simple folks as it was in the days of Cincinnatus as the republic of Venice with its political control vested in the Council of Ten. At the present time the Soviet Union with its party dictatorship is as much a republic as the American Commonwealth. As a rule, however, people everywhere associate not only democratic government but simplicity and straightforwardness with republicanism. The Constitution which has now been brought into operation also provides that India is to be not only a sovereign but democratic republic. Nothing could, of course, be said in the Constitution as to the ways of the government and the people. It has, however, provided for adult franchise. And when all men and women of twentyone years and above are admitted to the vote, it may be taken for granted that the government must increasingly accommodate to their ways of life. The Mughal Emperors of India led a high life and created highly expensive paraphernalia not only for themselves and the members of their family but for all their representatives in the subas and parganas. These traditions were maintained by the British in still more exaggerated form. They believed that a foreign government lived on prestige and greater the pomp and pageantry, the greater was, in their opinion, the prestige of the government in the east. With the inauguration of the republic these paraphernalia should be increasingly reduced and the administration made progressively simple.

It has been pointed out that India's republicanism has been vitiated by her membership of the Commonwealth and the acceptance of the British King as the head of that Commonwealth and that it has further been tarnished by the transformation of a number of former ruling Princes into Rajpramukhs and Upa-rajpramukhs. In respect of the King of England it may be said at once that his connection with India has ceased once for all. Neither functionally nor ceremonially he will have now anything to do with this country. He is, it is true, the head of the Commonwealth of which India is a member. But this headship does not assign to him any power, any function. India is a member of the United Nations. One gentleman presides over every session of its general assembly and another gentleman presides over a meeting of its Security Council. They exercise some functions and authority in these capacities. But it cannot be said that they constitute a limitation on India's sovereignty. Similarly the King of England as the head of the Commonwealth constitutes no limitation upon India's sovereignty and republicanism. As for the princely Rajpramukhs, they represent only a temporary phase which will in time go the way of princely rule in this country.

General Election in Britain

Before this paragraph is in print, the general elections in Britain will be held and their results known. The Labour Government might have continued for a few more months without dissolving the Parliament. But Mr. Attlee in consultation with his colleagues decided to go to the country without further delay.

It is a fact to be noted that during the last few years the Labour Government has not lost one single seat although a number of by-elections were held. But it is true at the same time that its majority in many constituencies has been considerably reduced. In the light of these facts there has been considerable speculation as to the turn the elections of February the 23rd will take. But such speculation leads us nowhere. It is coloured so much by wishful thinking as to lose much of its value. One thing important is that Labour is committed to socialism. It has already socialised some of the important industries and it is a part of its programme that if it gets another lease of power it will nationalise other important concerns as well. The question is whether the British public has taken kindly or not to this introduction of socialism in the country. Nationalisation inevitably damages private rights and privileges. But such damage alienates only a small fraction of the people. If, however, as a result of nationalisation efficiency suffers, production falls, and corruption sets in, the general public also becomes affected. But none of these charges against nationalisation can be substantiated in Britain. Consequently, the Labour Government is not likely to lose any prestige on this score with the electorate. On the contrary by going ahead with its schemes of social welfare, it has gained new support in the country.

The Conservatives have a spectacular leader in the person of Churchill. He is now seventyfive but has not lost anything for that in vigour and tenacity. His animus against any form of socialism, his antipathy towards India and particularly the Hindus and his support of all outworn ideas have now become a liability to his party. Consequently there was a talk of his being retired and Eden being chosen as the leader. But Churchill quoted the cases of Victorian statesmen, particularly the case of Mr. Gladstone who retired only at the age of eightyfive from the leadership of the Liberal Party. In any event he continues to lead the Conservative Party. At the time of writing he has not fired yet his broadsides against his socialist opponents. But it is doubtful whether his Philippics against socialism will be as effective as his calls for blood, sweat and toil were during war-time. At the age of seventyfive it is a more pleasant task to ruminate and write memoirs than to take responsibility for fresh action. If he loses the election, the world of politics will not lose much and the world of letters will gain a great deal. If, however, he secures a majority in the House of Commons, the world of letters will lose a great deal and the world of politics will hardly gain anything.

British elections have no longer much dramatic significance which they used to have in the 19th and early 20th centuries. They do not any longer represent the clash of personalities as was noticeable in the case of the long rivalry between Disraeli and Gladstone. People did not so much vote for this or that set of principles or even for this or that party as they voted for the leadership of this or that statesman. They knew two great personalities who were working at cross purposes and raised one of them to the headship of the Government and relegated the other to the leadership of the opposition. At the present time, however, while the factor of personality has not been eliminated, the voters stand for this or that programme and consequently for this or that party. In view of this it does not matter much that the leader of the Labour Party is not a man of the same stature as the seventyfive years old leader of the Conservative Party. Mr. Attlee draws his support not so much from the people's admiration for his personal calibre as from the programme of work which his Government has already carried out and the programme which it intends to carry out if returned to power in the coming elections. Since the above was written, the Labour Government has been returned to power with a precarious majority in the House of Commons.

Propaganda about Philippines ?

The following is from The Fortnightly :

"It is not unusual in Manila to hear from some European say : "I give this country five years before the crash" ....The people and their climate are lazy. A hotel boy who had to go up to my room and down again expected a handsome tip. He was quite eloquent about the trouble and fatigue involved. This laziness unfits the Filipinos for mining and industrial enterprise. Gold production, formerly a most profitable industry, is now almost at standstill. The owners say that the inertia and inefficiency of labour are so great that it is hardly worth the effort of reopening the mines.

"The people besides are captious and difficult. Strikes on the Manila waterfront, in industry, and troubles on the sugar plantations are an ever present irritation to the Europeans sweating at their desks in Manila. The Filipinos....are great grumblers, delighting to have a grievance to nurse and very willing to use strikes or more violent means to gain redress....

"The administration, moreover, is corrupt. Early this year (1949) a Government adviser on police affairs said in public and with deliberation : "If any Manila policeman tells me he lives on his pay that man is either a liar or a magician." Graft extends upwards from the humble policeman to the highest representatives of the people....

"Idleness, inefficiency, lawlessness, corruption, a nationalist xenophobia in legislation and a luxurious extravagance in daily life....these are the weaknesses of the Filipino character and economy which are continually before one's eyes in the capital. There are Filipinos as well foreigners who say that it is American troops and American gold which alone hold in tact the national structure....But America does not intend to help Filipinos indefinitely as in the past. Already United States troops have withdrawn to Clark Field and some few other strategic points....The flow of unearned dollars is to stop in 1951 when the last war-damage claims are paid...."

So King Thibeau is drinking. When will attempts be made to remove him ?

How is America reacting to Soviet Threat ?

S. K. Ratcliffe, at one time editor of the Statesman and a specialist on American affairs observes as follows in the Contemporary Review : "It would be impossible to discuss the America of 1949 without specific reference to the spy and treason trials and the national state of mind in relation to Russia and Communism. The fears are nationwide and the consequences very grave. The public services have undergone a systematic purge. In the colleges and universities there is a feeling of insecurity or worse. The State universities are wholly dependent upon the local legislations. Public suspicion is easily worked up, and fanatical politicians are only too ready to do their part. In New York State a determined agitation is under way for bringing school and college staffs within the grip of a loyalty test. Designed formally as a barrier against Communists and fellow-travellers, it could, as the profession has learnt by bitter experience, be used as a weapon against liberal views and all free intelligent teaching. Nor should we, in this connection, overlook another peril, which may be described as an American counterpart of the Moscow-Lysenko tyranny. Anti-Communism is being felt even in the research institutes."

Caste and Democracy

We referred on a previous occasion in these columns to the institution of castes and its inconsistency with the growth of nationalism and democracy in the country. Recently Mr. K. M. Panikkar in a Convocation address and the Sarvodaya Samaj in the proceedings of its annual meeting have asked for strong action against the continuance of castes. Mr. Panikkar has been for long a crusader in this field. More than fifteen years ago he published a booklet entitled Caste and Democracy and pointed out therein that people affiliated to this or that caste were not fit members of a democratic state. In fact a democratic state becomes a reductio ad abserdum on that score. Caste implies inequality between man and man. It represents also a lack of fraternity between people of different castes. Even liberty which is the third member of democratic trinity is denied by the caste system. A man should have the liberty to contract social alliances with whomsoever he may choose. It is true that intercaste marriages have now been made possible by legislations. But in many cases caste opinion proves stronger that the provisions of a permissive law. Most people would fight shy of an arrangement which is not normal but only extraordinary. Consequently even where there is desire, there may not be the necessary will to contract social alliances out of caste. So in practice caste violates all the principles of democracy. Solidarity among the people which is the bed-rock of nationalism is also dangerously undermined by the existence of castes. In fact instead of one people inhabiting one country, there is a multiplicity of groups on caste basis, each pulling its weight in its own directions.

There are many people, otherwise so progressive and so go-ahead, who are singularly complacent about their affiliation to this or that caste. They will continue to limit their social alliances to their own caste or sub caste but at the same assert that one should not worry about caste restrictions which were breaking down every day. Actually it is only the extreme perversions of caste system which have now largely disappeared under the hammer blows of Gandhiji. The so-called lower castes who were kept down for centuries are now asserting themselves. They have actually attained equality of status in respect of the use of public schools, public wells, and other public institutions and resorts. While this much has been achieved, nothing has been done so far in demolishing the caste barriers between man and man. In regard to amenities provided by the state, people of one caste may not have the monopoly of enjoyment at the expenses of the people of another caste. But this does not mean that the two have broken barriers in between them. These barriers in fact remain as strong today as they happened to be decades ago. The aim of the Sarvodaya Samaj is to set up a casteless and classless society. We wish it well.

Future of the Calcutta Corporation

The Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, under which this city of six million souls enjoyed full local self-government for twentyfive years was made inoperative in April, 1948 and since then the city has been looked after by an Administrator appointed by and responsible to the Government of Bengal. Meanwhile a Commission of Inquiry was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. C. C. Biswas to look into the charges of corruption and inefficiency which had been levelled against the Corporation from time to time as also to recommend changes in the set-up of the municipal government of Calcutta so as to improve its administration.

The Committee submitted an interim report in the middle of the year 1949. On the 31st of January last it completed its work and submitted its final report to the Government. The interim report contained recommendations regarding the composition of the Corporation Council and the mode of its election. The final report gives us a full picture of the Corporation as it will be if the recommendations are carried out in full. So far only the observations of the Commission regarding the Council-Manager plan of government which it was recommending have been published more or less in their entirety. Otherwise our information regarding the ideas of the Commission are very incomplete. We do not know, for instance, whether the Commission has discovered any specific proofs as to alleged corruption in the administration of the Corporation affairs to enquire into which was one of the main objects of the appointment of the Commission. We hope light on these matters will be thrown by the early publication of the report.

The Commission has recommended that the Corporation Council should consist of seventyfive members, that number of voters should be considerably increased by the adoption of the principle of adult franchise and that the constituencies should be small in size. But the Council so constituted will be entitled only to lay down the policy of the Corporation and will not be allowed to meddle in the administration, such administration being the concern of a Manager (Chief Executive Officer) over whose appointment and dismissal the Council will not have full control. Such appointment and dismissal are to be subject to Government approval. The other officers and assistants of the Corporation will be under the control of the Manager and will take orders from and be responsible to him. There will be a municipal civil service Commission consisting of three members, one appointed by the Corporation Council, one by the Manager and one by the Government.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Immortal Ease—By Theodore Nicholl, Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers), Ltd., London. Price 6s. Pp. 1-55.

This small volume of about forty poems has the war as their common theme. Their appeal lies in thir sincerity; they have all been deeply thought and felt and expressed with the utmost economy of language. The author seems to have developed his poetic powers under the stress of the war. He has a rich imagination which easily overflows into striking. metaphors, lighting up a subject with a sudden flash that belongs to genius In Theodore Nicholl there is evidence of a rare poetic talent, and if the present volume represents his first poetic attempt, it must be pronounced to be a very promising one.

Houston Post Poems—By Pascal R. Wilson, The Kaleidograph Press, Dallas, Texas. Price $ 2.0.0. Pp. 1-65.

The author who is about thirty-two years old, is a graduate of Texas and has been variously employed in business and literature. The present volume of fifty odd poems seems to represent not only his first attempt to appear in book form but, also, nearly a sixth of his total output as writer. The poems in this volume are mainly on the author's native city which they describe admiringly in carefully chosen words. The poems tell us of passing moods and are interesting rather as expressions of stray thoughts and reflexions than of any profound experience.

Selected poems—By P. R. Kaikini, The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay, 7. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 1-53.

P. R. Kaikini's poems brought together into this thin volume of about fifty pages seem to have been selected by the author himself from his various published books over a period of seven years. It contains occasional pieces like the Earthquake at Quetta, Shanghai : 1937, as well as some love lyrics. The author writes verses with facility and seems to have something of his own to say in spite of the traditional form which he chooses for his poetic work.

Poems of Hou-chu Rendered into English—By Liu Yih-Ling and Shahid Suhrawardy, with Chinese Text. Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay. Pages v-xv, 1-79.

The volume contains thirty-nine poems out of a total of forty-five which Lee Hou-Chou, one of the Kings of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms of China, wrote. He was born in A.D. 937 and seems to have been endowed with a delicate imagination and a love of beautiful things. The Introduction to the volume gives a sketch of his life which brings out his devotion to literature and the arts as well as a certain eccentric strain in his character which seems to go very well with the remote Chinese world, which he ruled and inhabited and in which he wrote his fragile little poems. In his preference for a flask of wine and of female society he reminds us of Omar Khaiyam. He has also an awareness of the flight of time :

> My dream again went back to my old kingdom.
> When I awoke, two threads of tears hung from my eyes.
> I remember how we had watched the Autumn from the top
> of the terrace.
>
> But who will go there with me now ?
> Empty is the past ;
> It is a dream.

The poems have an elusive quality about them. Their music is subtle and intellectual, and sad. Nature often appears in them but it is of fading flowers and of autumn that he writes by preference. The poems are very short but they effectively capture a mood. They will give pleasure to all who love poetry.

Srichandra Sen.

University Addresses—By C. Rajagopalachari. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 2-8-0. Library Edition, Rs. 3-8-0. 1949. Pp. 112.

Sri Rajagopalachari has appeared during the last twenty-five years in many rôles—as a politician, a social reformer, an administrator, an author and also as an educator, not only in the larger sense of the word but also in connection with wholesome advice tendered to University students in India. His educational addresses, delivered during the last twelve years to about a dozen universities all over the country, have been collected together in this volume under review and presented to the general reader to help university education with constructive criticism.

These addresses contain, as everything from "C. R." is bound to contain, a liberal dose of humour, but there is also much practical sense expressed in them, and a concrete definite objective ideal of life—suitable for teachers and students alike. He has both of them in view when he says :

"Should teachers and students be encouraged to take up active politics apart from academic studies ? My answer has always been, and I repeat it now—No ! Active party politics is inconsistent with fruitful student-life. Should our schools and colleges be scenes of political battles and party squabbles ? My answer is an emphatic No ! Should strike and satyagraha be recognized and encouraged in schools ? My answer is again in the negative."

"C. R." has very properly warned the organisers of education against cramming too much matter into the immature brain of adolescent minds. "The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment straightway. The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain."

Citations need not be further multiplied, but the reviewer feels sure they should be done best by the reader himself. It is useless to add that C.R's language is not only charming but also crystal clear, but the thoughts cannot be lightly passed over. It is to be hoped that the book will be perused by all interested in education, and specially university education, with profit.

P. R. Sen.

Social Security—By N. A. Sarma, M.A. of Bombay University. Published by National Information & Publication Limited, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-4.

With the attainment of national independence, it seems we have lost our moorings in the sphere of social security and this so in every field of life whether as buyer or seller, as producer or consumer. The consequent disturbed economic balance is creating the problem of unemployment which all would like to solve. The author's exposition is clear and though it is only a sketch, it contains some fruitful suggestions. Government can, if so disposed, build up a solid structure upon it.

The Spirit and Form of Indian polity—By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Arya Publishing House, 63, College Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.

It is a clear exposition of a master mind in answer to a British critic about the spirit of Indian polity. India never raised any sectarian slogan but always stood for all and humanity. This explains her social organisation based on universalism and not on individualism. In the author's language, "We must seek now to awake not an Anglicised oriental people, docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the Occident's success or failure but to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma."

Cobweb of Hindusthani—By Chandra Bali Pande, M.A. Published by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag.

The author takes up the case of Hindi in the right royal spirit condemning Urdu as a parasitic tongue.

J. N. Mitra

Ourselves

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

At a meeting of the Senate held on the 28th January last the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, offered felicitations on behalf of the University to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on his election to the Presidentship of the Indian Republic. To these felicitations Dr. Prasad sent a very fitting reply.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad had a unique career as a student of this University. Early in this century it had its jurisdiction extended over the whole of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Burma. Dr. Prasad headed the list of successful candidates at the Entrance Examination of the University in 1902. He had appeared at the examination from the Chapra Zilla School. Thereafter he came to Calcutta for further studies and got admitted into the Presidency College. In the F.A. Examination of 1904 and the B.A. Examination of 1906 he maintained his pre-eminence as a scholar of repute and headed the list of successful candidates. In 1908 he took his M.A. degree and in the subsequent three years he passed the Law examinations. In these he did not rise to expectations cherished of him by his friends whose number was legion. This was because, as he himself has explained in his autobiography, his attention had been meanwhile diverted to social and political work. He was deeply involved in these years in the organisation of student movement in Bihar. But in 1915 after practising at the Calcutta High Court Bar for about four years he appeared at the M.L. Examination which was then, as it is now, the most difficult examination held by the University and he came out with flying colours in the first class. It should be pointed out here that he was not connected with this University only as a student. He also served for a short time one of its affiliated colleges as a Professor and later he was also on the staff of the University Law College for a few years. This fairly long connection with his University ceased only with the establishment of the High Court at Patna and the transference of his legal work from Calcutta to the former city in 1916.

As it has been pointed out already, Rajendra Babu, as a student of the Presidency College, collected round him a host of friends and admirers, many of whom are still scattered in different parts of this province. Politics has as much its pleasant as its unpleasant aspects and Rajendra Babu with the best of motives could not uniformly remain popular in all circles. But we have yet to meet a former college fellow of his who does not speak of him with loving admiration. The memory of his student days is a valued link in the long traditions of the Presidency College and the Hindu Hostel of which he was an inmate.

We have referred to Rajendra Babu's short career as a teacher at Calcutta. But his activities as an educationist did not cease with his removal to Patna. On the contrary such activities were intensified at that city. He took a prominent part in the passing of the Patna University Bill and became a member of both the Senate and the Syndicate of the Patna University when it was brought into being. His activities as a Fellow and Syndic were as untiring and incessant as they were constructive in character. It was unfortunate that with the adoption of the principle and policy of non-cooperation by the special session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1920, his connection with the University ceased. He resigned his membership of the Senate and Syndicate. But still for sometime to come his interest in education was maintained though on a new basis. Students who on the call of the Congress withdrew from the schools and colleges, affiliated to the University, were largely admitted into a National College of which Rajendra Babu became the Principal. His life during the period of his association with this National College was that of an ancient *guru* surrounded by his pupils, living their simple austere life, sharing their joys and sorrows and acting in every-sense as their friend, philosopher and guide.

It was not, however, possible for so prominent a publicman as Rajendra Babu to limit his activities to an educational institution. Other calls were more urgent and insistent. Gradually the sphere of his work was widened and enlarged and to-day, after filling many positions of great responsibility, he has become our President, the first in the long and chequered annals of India. The University of Calcutta no longer holds sway over the schools and colleges outside the truncated province of West Bengal but it may very well share the pride of Bihar that one of its own sons now presides over the destiny of our dear and much suffering country.

* * * *

PROFESSOR D. GHOSE

Professor D. Ghose who acted as head of the Department of Economics for one year during the absence of Professor J. P. Niyogi (now serving as a member of the West Bengal Public Service Commission) left for New York last month where he has been appointed Assistant Director of Economic Affairs in the U.N.O. We have no doubt about it that Mr. Ghose will prove an asset to the U.N.O. whose prestige is at the present moment none too high. Dr. Saroj Kumar Bose who is a Reader in the Department of Economics is now acting as its head. Dr. Bose is an expert on problems of Banking and Currency and has written a number of books and brochures on these subjects. We offer our felicitations both to Mr. Ghose and to Dr. Bose.

* * * *

PROFESSOR NALINAKSHA DUTT

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, a Lecturer and acting head of the Department of Pali, has been appointed Professor of Pali. The vacancy was caused by the death of Professor B. M. Barua. Dr. Dutt is an erudite scholar in oriental subjects and has a number of books and papers to his credit. We offer our congratulations to Professor Dutt.

* * * *

VISIT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH DENTAL SURGEONS

On the 14th of the last month the British Dental Surgeons, headed by Mr. Bradlaugh who is the Dean of the Faculty of Dental Surgery in the Royal College of Surgeons, visited the University and were met at an at home by the Vice-Chancellor and members of the Syndicate. In welcoming them the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, pointed out that Dental Surgery, as a separate specialised science by itself, had not yet been recognised by the University. It was still only a part of the general medical and surgery course. But already, he observed, a Dental College had been set up in the city and it had a status of its own. The University also, he emphasised, would not long delay the recognition of Dental Surgery as a separate subject to be studied on its own merit. The guests made a fitting reply.

* * * *

ENGLISH SOCIETY AT WORK

Mr. Leslie L. Lewis, Cultural Attaché to the American Consulate in Calcutta, delivered a lecture on "James Joyce" and "The Stream of Conciousness" novel at a meeting of the English Society in Asutosh Hall, Calcutta University, on November 25, 1949. The lecture was illustrated with a tabular statement which was circulated in print to the audience. Mr. Lewis drew pointed attention to the nature of 'The Stream of Consciousness' novel, the technique of which was developed by Joyce in his most characteristic way.

Professor M. M. Bhattacherje, who presided at the meeting, announced that the American Consulate had decided to make a present to the University Library of fifty volumes of American Literature, and made accessible to the University teachers and students the Library in the American Consulate in the Esplanade Mansion. For this Professor Bhattacherje thanked the Consulate and Mr. Lewis.

At a meeting of the English Society held in the Asutosh Hall, Calcutta University, on January 4, Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, who represents the British Council in this country, delivered a lecture on English Poetry. He also recited passages from Rabindranath, Sri Aurobindo, and a number of British poets. His readings were much appreciated by the audience. Sir Eugen said that Indian contribution to English Literature, which had so far obtained little recognition, was important. The works of Taru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Sri Aurobindo and the translation from Rabindranath should have an abiding place in English literature.

Professor M. M. Bhattacherje, who presided, said that English Literature was the most important cultural link between India and England and America, and it should not be broken abruptly.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta
Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. Misc. R. 7 of 18.1.50.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Sub-section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (Act VIII of 1904) the Governor has been pleased to sanction the following changes in Section 8A, Chapter XXXI of the Regulations :—

The word 'candidate' in the last para of Section 8A *be replaced* by the word 'candidates' and the following proviso *be added* at the end :—

Candidates may also take up Geography as an additional subject in which there shall be two Theoretical Papers of 75 marks each and one Practical Paper of 50 marks of which 10 marks shall be set apart for Laboratory note book, provided that they have not taken up Geography as a compulsory subject under Group B.

The changes will have immediate effect.

Senate House,
The 18th January, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (*Offg.*).

Notification No. Misc. R. 8., dated 19.1.50.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Sub-section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (Act VIII of 1904), Government have been pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapters XXXIV—A and XL of the Regulations of this University relating to the B.Com. and the B.T. Examinations respectively.

Chapter XXXIV-A (B.Com.),

In Sections 6 and 10, the word 'division' *be replaced* by the word 'Class' and the word 'Divisions' *be replaced* by the word 'Classes'.

In Section 6, the words 'the first in order of merit and the other in alphabetical order, *be replaced* by the words 'both in order of merit'.

Chapter XL (B. T.)

In Section (*b*), line 4, the words 'or passed the B.Com. Examination in the First Division' *be replaced* by the words 'or passed the B.Com. Examination in the First Class.'

Senate House,
The 21st January, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (*Offg.*).

Notification No. 6

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) Government have been pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapter XLIV and XLV of the Regulations of this University relating to the First and the Final M.B.B.S. Examinations :—

"I. In Section 5, Chapter XLIV, the lines 'Provided that....matter' *be replaced* by the following :—

Provided that a candidate who fails in one subject only at the First M.B. Examination may be re-examined in that subject only at the next examination. If he fails to pass or to appear at the examination he may appear again in that subject at the next succeeding examination at a subsequent examination, but if he fails again, he shall have to appear in all the subjects at a subsequent examination, In Section 6, Chapter XLV, the following changes be made :

The note at the end of the table under Part I be numbered as 'Note (1)' and the following be inserted under the present note—

Note (2)—In order to pass the examination in Forensic and State Medicine; a candidate must pass separately in written and oral examinations and that he must secure 40% in the written examination, 40% in the oral examination and 50% in the aggregate".

The changes in Chapter XLIV will be given effect to from the Examinations of November, 1949 and those in Chapter XLV from the Examinations of May, 1950.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 6th January, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Copy of letter No. F.2-15/49-S.2 dated 3.8.49 from the Government of India, Ministry of Education.

Sub : Overseas Scholarships—Provincial. Duration of courses of studies in the Universities and Institutions in the United States of America.

I am directed to state that the Indian Embassy, Washington, has submitted to this Ministry the following statement in regard to the duration of courses at American institutions :

1. The American University system is organised very differently from the Indian and British systems. There are no examinations of the kind which are such an important features of the Indian and British Universities, and there is thus no fixed duration for a particular course. In the light of a student's attainments, as assessed by University authorities, it is decided what grades he should secure before he can qualify for a degree for which he is registered. In certain cases the Universities have been declined to register a student for a specific degree at the time of his admission and leave the matter to be decided later in the light of the proficiency which he shows in his subjects of study. It is, therefore, quite impossible to say, in any case at the time of a student's admission how long he would take to qualify for a degree. It is even more uncertain in the case of a research degree because, as the University authorities have pointed out in every case that as so far been referred to them it is impossible to predict even towards a comparatively late stage of a student's course whether he is likely to come up against an unforeseen difficulty in his research problems and when his research work will be completed. It has been the experience that the University authorities strongly resent any enquiry as to when a student is likely to secure a degree and it is therefore undesirable to persist with these enquiries.

2. Every opportunity has been taken to explain it to different University authorities that it is not possible to enter an indefinite financial commitment and award a Scholarship to a student for so long as he may require to complete the requisites for a degree. In these circumstances the following courses are suggested :—

(*a*) If a student is required to secure a particular degree it may be so stated and the period of study will be according to the requirements of the University authorities to complete the work for that degree provided that progress in studies does not disclose any lack of diligence or application.

(*b*) In case where it is not desired to obtain a degree it may be so stated and the student will have to be in the country of study for a period of scholarship and thus place the responsibility of the student if he should register for a degree which he cannot obtain within the specified time. The University will in such case be apprised of the position.

(*c*) It may happen that in certain cases a student may in good faith register for a degree which he feels confident of being able to secure within the time available to him but unforeseen difficulties arise which make it impossible for him to complete the work in time. Such cases will be judged on merit and if the student's work had been of a really high standard he will be considered for the grant of an extension of scholarship to enable him to complete his work. This is important not only from the point of view of the student but even more so from that of the relations with the Universities. It will no doubt be appreciated that the tuition fees which a graduate student pays do not by a long way cover the cost of his instruction, and the University incurs on his account considerable additional expenses which is more or less wasted if he leaves his work incomplet.

I am to request that the points raised may kindly be borne in mind while suggesting courses of studies for overseas scholars who have been orwill be sponsored by the Provincial Government.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 23rd November, 1949.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

UNIVERSITY OF POONA

Notification

It is hereby notified that the following candidates have been declared to have failed at the Intermediate Arts Examination 1949 and have further been debarred from appearing for any of the Examinations of that University until the dates shown against their names, for having resorted to unfair means at the said Examination :—

No.	Name of the candidate	College	Date until which debarred.
609	Deo, Laxman Heramb	Fergusson College, Poona	31st January,1951
613	Patankar, Gajanan Shaukar	Do.	31st January, 1951
615	Wadke, Bhalchandra Pandharinath	Do.	31st January, 1951

G. C. BANERJEE,
University Registrar.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Proceedings of the Syndicate.

No. S2-6645/49 Waltair, 12th November, 1949.
Encl. 1 Statement.

Sub : Misconduct at Examinations—September 1949.

Read the following—

(*i*) Reports from the Chief Superintendent, University Examinations, Sept. 1949.
(*ii*) Also Reports from Examiners.
(*iii*) Resolution of the Syndicate dated 29.10.49.

Order

The results of the following examinees who have been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Examinations held in September, 1949 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for the University Examinations for the periods noted against each.

S. No.	Name	Examination	Reg. No.	Debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations before
1.	G. V. Rama Rao	Intermediate, Sept. 1949	377	March-April, 1951
2.	Vanja Vedamani	Do.	670	Do.
3.	Kolli Rama Chandra Reddi	Do.	2006	Do.
4.	Parvataneni Venkata Subbaya	Do.	2138	Do.
5.	Polisetti Satyanarayana	Do.	2836	Do.

By order

Sd. Illegible.
Registrar.

Copy to the Registrars of all Indian Universities.

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

The undermentioned candidates for the University Examinations held in July (Special Punjab Course) and September (Supplementary) 1949 who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been expelled from the University and declared to be not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future examination of the University :—

No.	Name of examination	Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidate	Father's Name	College from which sent
1.	Intermediate Arts (Special Punjab Course)	175	H. 7139	Ram Kumar	L. Johri Mal	Hindu College 2nd Shift.
2.	Examination in Subsidiary Subject for the B.A. Hons. course.	547	H. 6987	Premchand Gupta	Mr. P. B. Shri Chand	Ex-student.

No. Ex/ dated Delhi, the 26th November, 1949.

Copy to the Registrars of all Indian Universities.

Sd. Illegible
Registrar.
University of Delhi, Delhi.

UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

D. Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Proceedings of the Syndicate.

Sub : Malpractice at the University Examination, April, 1949.

Read:

1. Report of the Chief Superintendent ;
2. Explanation of the candidate ;
3. Recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Syndicate on Residence, Welfare and Discipline of Students.

Order

The Syndicate having found the undermentioned candidate guilty of resorting to unfair means at the Intermediate Examination, has resolved that the examination taken by the candidate be cancelled and he be debarred from appearing for any examination of this University earlier than March 1951.

(By order)
Sd. P. R. Parameswara Panikkar.
Registrar.

Name of candidate—P. C. Zachariah
Register No.—1896
Examination taken by the candidate—Intermediate.
Date of birth—3.12.1105
Name of father or guardian—Chacko, P. M.
Address—Pallathethi, Puthupally, Kottayam
Where educated—C. M. S. College, Kottayam
Period of punishment—Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
Communicated to—The Registrars of all Indian Universities.

D.Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Office of the
University of Travancore, Trivendrum
21st November, 1949.

Copy forwarded to the Registrar, Calcutta University, Calcutta for information.

Sd. P. R. Parameswara Panikkar,
Registrar.